Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 326) presented a pewter plate to Poulaho [Tui Tonga 576
Pau] in 1777, which he said he would substitute for the bowl which had 643
before sustained the offices of chief justice and viceroy, and which was used [177]
to absolve persons from tapu when the Tui Tonga was absent.

Concerning the chief (presumably Tui Tonga Kauulufonua III) whom Tasman met in 1643, Wilson says (66, p. xlvii):

> An elderly chief, who seems at that time to have had the sovereign authority, came repeatedly on board, shewed the most profound respect to his visitors, and was highly gratified by the presents which they made to him. Among these was a wooden bowl, [415] probably the same that long afterwards was used by the sovereigns of Tongataboo [787] as a divining-cup, to convict persons accused of crimes; and the same homage which is rendered to the sovereign when present, was paid during his absence to the bowl, as his representative.

RANK AND LANGUAGE

The Tongans make use of different words and expressions when addressing 195
or referring to persons of different social standing. By listening to a con- 565
versation it is possible to tell whether those conversing are of equal or unequal 554
rank. 576
One set of words was used in addressing or speaking of the Tamaha, the Female and the Male Tui Tonga, another for the Tui Haa Takalaua, the Tui Kanokupolu, and the chiefs, and still another for the people. In speaking or referring to matapules, terms for the people are used by their superiors and terms for chiefs by their inferiors. It is said that individuals of the same rank use terms for the people when conversing among themselves, but there are exceptions. For example, the Tamaha calls her mother *huhu*, not *fae* (the [601] ordinary term for mother). Furthermore the use of the Tui Tonga term *lakoifie* for Tui Pelehake (who, like the first Tui Tonga, was of celestial origin) suggests that other Tui Tonga terms may have been similarly used.

The relation of rank and language is well expressed by Elia Malupo, one 195
of the Tui Tonga's ceremonial attendants, in a statement written November 565
27, 1905. 539 554 576

Oku tolu ae faahinga: koe faahinga muomua, ae Tamaha, moe Tui Tonga; moe faahinga e taha, ae Tui Haa Takalaua, moe Tui Kanokupolu; pea moe faahinga e taha, ae kakai. Koia ia, oku tolu ae lea: 1, Kakai; 2, Tui Haa Takalaua; 3, Tui Tonga. Koeni: Kapau teu fetaulaki mo ha taha, oe faahinga oe kakai, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo alu ki fe?".

Pea kapau ko ha taha oe faahinga lotoloto, oe Houeiki, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo mea ki fe?" Pea kapau ko ha taha oe faahinga muomua, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo haele ki fe?"

There are three ranks: the leading rank, the Tamaha, and the Tui Tonga; and another rank, the Tui Haa Takalaua, and the Tui Kanokupolu; and another rank, the people. There are three sets of words: 1, the people; 2, the Tui Haa Takalaua; 3, the Tui Tonga. Thus: If I should meet with anyone of the people rank, I would say: "Ko hoo alu ki fe?" (Where are you going?) And should it be one of the middle rank of chiefs, I would say to him: "Ko hoo mea ki fe?" (Where are you going?) [The old greeting for matapule and commoner is said to be *siotoofa* or *siokuofa*, presumably the equivalent of the modern *malolelei*.]

lenga, so that it fell into the sea. The place where it slid over the edge of the 776
cliff is marked by a deep groove, through which soil and stone have slid 773
into the sea. (See also 16, p. 8.) 823

At Matalanga in Utungake, Vavau, are a series of perpendicular holes or
caves in the coral bedrock, which are said likewise to have been made by Maui
thrusting in his digging stick. In the sea close by are two very smooth rocks,
called Niumano and Moso, the larger being not more than 30 feet in diameter,
said to be transformed sons of Maui. A plant *tepilo a Maui* (wind of 776
Maui), common in Tonga, is associated with Maui. The plant, when in 773
flower, smells like human excrement and is said to have acquired this charac- 824
teristic because a branch of it was used by Maui as a wiper.

On the part of the weather shore of Uiha called Likutapu (so called 776
because a Tui Tonga is said to be buried there, in a small langi) is a hollow 773
stone called the kava bowl of Maui. 823

Hikuleo

Hikuleo, the great deity of Pulotu, whom Farmer (23, p. 132) connects 776
with the Tui Tonga, is believed to manifest himself often at the present time.
Thus, if fishermen return without a catch, it is a sign that Hikuleo has been 776
at work with his great net, and that therefore no fish will enter the nets of 226
mortals. Then the fishermen flee in fear. The particular locality where this
is believed to occur is the inland waters of such lagoons as that of Tongatabu. [115]
Mamea, the Mother Superior of the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, con-
tributed this information about Hikuleo's fishing. She stated, also, that there 776
died about 1905 an old woman of Maufanga who claimed that she was fre- [787]
quently transported to the smaller outer islands by a god and then subse-
quently brought back. I do not know if this god was Hikuleo.

I was unable to settle the matter of the sex of Hikuleo in her (or his) role of deity of Pulotu, some informants made the deity masculine, others feminine (26). It is not improbable that, like Fehuluni, Hikuleo was bisexual. Caillot (7, p. 243) regards Hikuleo as a male deity, as do most other writers.

At the site of the present town of Haano, Haapai, there once stood 778
a temple of Hikuleo. The temple was called Falemee. It was located on a 776
tract called Fanakava. The priest of the goddess was named Manakoto,
and her sacred animal was the sea snake (*tukuhali*). This temple was a
famous place of refuge. If a person became sick, his relatives went to [782]
Manakoto and cut off little finger joints to make him well. Bodies of exe- [759]
cuted persons were taken to Manakoto. If Manakoto were angry a human [782]
sacrifice might be made to him, the sight of which made him happy. The 000
following anecdote is told:

The following anecdote is told:

Kavaanuku was the name of the Foa Island chief who had soldiers for war. 173
The soldiers from Tonga came to Foa and fought with Kavaanuku's soldiers. They
fought and Kavaanuku's soldiers ran to Manakoto's place. They were whipped and 778
feared the Tongan soldiers. The soldiers from Tonga tied with rope a man and 782
took him to Manakoto and Kavaanuku, before whom they strangled him. Then Kavaanuku, 726
likewise strangled a man as an offering to the goddess. Thereupon the soldiers from Tonga strangled two Tongan men and took them to Manakoto, because they wanted Hikuleo's permission to enter her sanctuary and to destroy Kavaanuku's soldiers. Permission was gained when the Tongans sacrificed the two men to the goddess. The sacrificed men were left on the ground to rot outside of the goddess' house. Then the Tongan soldiers attacked and killed all of Kavaanuku's men. That was the first time anyone had attacked the sanctuary of Fanakava. This happened in the time of the great great grandfather of the present Tui Haa Ngana.

Another account of Hikuleo follows:

Hikuleo had also a shrine in the island of Uiha, Haapai. Her tract of land was 778
called Taoa, and her house was built thereon. She was appealed to through the 776
medium of the usual finger sacrifice when there was sickness. People who intended
to voyage must inform Hikuleo first, otherwise they would encounter bad winds. [782]
People beseeching the aid of the goddess seated themselves outside of the house in [484]
which she was believed to be. A man looked after the feeding of the goddess, giving her the food which the people brought. All of the people in Uiha worshipped Hikuleo;
other deities were also worshipped. Hikuleo was the patron goddess of the chief [622]
Malupo of Uiha. In connection with her worship in Uiha one tapu required every- 776
one to be quiet for a time at noon, forbidding the beating of tapa or making of any
noise; another tapu forbade orange juggling at night, under penalty of losing one's 784
eyesight; and another forbade old women to make mats, because they [old women?] smelt badly to the goddess.

FEHULUNI

Fehuluni is a widely known Tongan deity who even in Christian times 776
appears as an apparition. The origin of this deity has been related (26, pp. 153-155). My hitherto unpublished information concerning Fehuluni pertains to the Haapai and Vavau groups.

Fehuluni apparently appears always in human form—to a man appearing
in feminine form; to a woman, in masculine form. The person whose [763]
affection is won by Fehuluni is said to die, often wasting away, and people are said to become unconscious on first seeing her. One informant characterized Fehuluni as a *tupui tevolo*, that is an original god rather than an *ata* (shadow). The island of Nomuka, Haapai, is the particular haunt of the deity, where she had a temple, like an ordinary Tongan house, located on
the tract Tuanuku. Three people officiated as priests, a man named Samuel 776
Masivahemolo and his sisters Latu and Fatai, all of whom were inspired at 793
times by Fehuluni becoming incarnate in one of them, the manifestation of 787
the incarnation being trembling. On the occasion of such a divine visitation
the inspired servant of the god remained within the temple. The people who 782
prayed to Fehuluni sometimes entered her house, sometimes remained outside. 778

at Ahau where *fono* were held, or near the southeastern point of the island. 776
Taleheu, a tract on the west side of the island, was Fehuluni's home, where
she lived in a Tahitian chestnut tree.

In the Vavau group, Fehuluni's home is the island of Aa. She has living there with her the women who are said to continually juggle the eyes of human beings, instead of oranges. Certain of the attributes which she has in Nomuka pertain to her also in Vavau, namely, the ability to become either a man or a woman, and the ability to remove her head from her shoulders when combing her hair. The Vavau informant said that those human beings who fell victims to the enticements of this deity died soon and that the deity wished it so, that she might have them with her in Pulotu, the unseen world.

What is probably but another manifestation of Fehuluni is a deity named Malimeihevao, the bisexual god of Uoleva Island, Haapai. The following anecdote concerns him:

> A god named Malimeihevao, living in the pigeon mound called Siamaka in the 776
> island of Uoleva had the power of assuming either male or female sex at will and 773
> visiting a human being of the opposite sex, whom he liked. The deity possessed the 787
> mind (*loto*) of the human victim, so that for some time after the divine visitation 828
> the victim was irrational.
>
> Two men, Kaamoto and Pana, from the neighboring island of Lifuka, went hunting with a shotgun on Uoleva. They had shot a number of flying foxes and large fruit pigeons (*lupe*), when Malimeihevao possessed herself of Kaamoto's mind. As soon as she did so, Kaamoto looked like a fool and became completely irrational. Pana was carrying the game that had been bagged. He urged Kaamoto to return with him to Lifuka, but Kaamoto was deaf to entreaty and proceeded to walk towards the center of Uoleva with his gun under his arm. Kaamoto had been completely robbed of his sense of direction and for two days and two nights he wandered aimlessly. The faithful Pana, realizing that he had lost his mind, followed him, but at last despaired of his becoming rational.
>
> Now Pana bethought himself of a goddess named Puakamopele, who lived in the neighboring island of Tatafa. Puakamopele was a deity with a woman's body and a pig's head. She was the ruler of all the gods of Haapai. Pana now left Kaamoto in Uoleva and went over to Tatafa to seek the aid of the goddess. He besought her to restore his companion to his right mind and to cause him (Kaamoto) to come to him. In a little while Pana saw a flame appear near the goddess, which was a sign that the prayer was to be answered. Shortly after Kaamoto came out on the beach of Uoleva opposite Tatafa and fell down quite exhausted, but rational. He was trembling from head to foot and spitting blood. Pana asked him how he became foolish and Kaamoto told him that a woman had approached him and stolen his senses. Then the two returned to Lifuka. Their pigeons and bats, however, had become rotten and were left behind. The two men told the people in Lifuka of their adventures.
>
> As an obscure sequel to this, the priest Ngaohaa, who officiated for both Puaka- 776
> mopele and Malimeihevao at their joint house in Holopeka, Lifuka, went to Tatafa 773
> and requested Puakamopele to kill all of the gods of Haapai. This the obliging goddess 793
> did with the exception of Malimeihevao, who entered the owl (*lulu*).

When the priest Ngaohaa wished to consult Malimeihevao in Uoleva, he 776
went right up to the Siamaka or stone mound in which the deity lived, and in 793
which Puakamopele also dwelt at times. This mound is said to be of recent 349

origin, having been built a few generations ago, for pigeon catching, by 776
Matauvave, the matapule of Tui Tonga, who had charge of that sport in 349
Haapai. There was no house for the deities on this mound.

The informant translated Malimeihevao as "stealing your senses if you 776
are liked," but an analysis of the word yields: *mali*, to smile or to marry; 196
meihe, from the; *vao*, bush, which is quite in consonance with the attributes
of the deity. Puakamopele was translated as "pig and stronger," but analyses
as "pig and favorite, pet, or darling."

The sacred animal of Puakamopele was the gecko called *moko*, that of 776
Malimeihevao was the owl called *lulu* (*Strix delicatula*). As already stated, 825
Malimeihevao entered the owl, where he still dwells, through which medium
he still meddles with the affairs of mortals. If a woman is pregnant but the [787]
fact is not public knowledge, the owl makes it known by calling near the [843]
house in which the woman lives. Likewise, if the owl calls near a house and [763]
then flies to the graveyard, it is a sign that death will soon visit that house.

TUI HAA FAKAFANUA

The deity Tui Haa Fakafanua is by Collocott and Tongan informants 776
identified with Tutumatua of Fiji and with Moso of Samoa. One Tongan
informant also identified this god with Seketoa of Niuatoputapu. It seems
likely that these identifications, particularly the last, are in the nature of
rationalizations.

Collocott (9, p. 156) describes the entry of this god into his priest. He [787]
manifested himself in the gecko, or to use the Tongan metaphor, the gecko [825]
was the "boat of the god."

Maufanga in Tongatabu and Faleloa in the island of Foa, Haapai, seem 776
to have been principal seats of this god, although a third sanctuary was 778
located in Lifuka, Haapai, on the site called Hahaia, now occupied by the
Catholic church. Collocott's account (op. cit. p. 227) of the god refers
especially to his manifestations in Tongatabu and to his connection with the
chief Fakafanua. The ancestor of Fakafanua, the present noble of Maufanga,
was Kinikinilau who probably lived in the early part of the seventeenth
century (26, p. 69) so that the Fakafanua title does not appear to be very
old. The exact site of the sanctuary in Tongatabu was called Vakataumai.
The priest seems to have borne the name of Makaui. If tradition is to be [793]
relied upon, there was already a Makaui officiating in the time of Kinikinilau.
It would be interesting to know whether the god of that time bore the name
Tui Haa Fakafanua. Today the god is rudely referred to as Fakafanua's
devil as well as by his true name. Collocott refers to the famous sanctuary
of the god at Maufanga, which afforded protection to fugitives from vengeance.
It was this sanctuary that was shelled by the French warship Astrolabe
in 1827 (20, p. 268 footnote):

> It happened to be the sacred town of Ma Fanga, which, being the supposed abode 776
> of their deities, and of the souls of their ancestors and deceased friends, has always 778
> from time immemorial been considered neutral ground, and as such respected in their
> most bloody wars. It is governed by the high-priest of the island, who guards the [793]
> tombs of the deceased princes, presides at the annual sacrifices, and receives the first-
> fruits offered at the shrine of their deities.

Tui Haa Fakafanua is one of the deities who is still regarded as existent
in Tonga. The sacred pool of the god is located near the present convent
in Maufanga. If a woman bathes alone in this pool, and while bathing sees [825]
a gecko, she believes that the god has entered her and death is the result. [763]
Frequently when a girl dies it is said that the god has caused her death, [763]
whether or not she has bathed in the god's pool. This god is also believed
to have manifested himself at times on Eua Island. A small, clear stream
called Malimaliloto is sacred to this god. A man who dwelt beside the stream
was made very handsome by the god, who himself is said to appear sometimes
as a handsome man in order to have his way with some woman. In Lifuka, 776
Haapai, the priest of the god dwelt in a house on the site of the god's temple. 778
He possessed the power of prophecy and whatever he foretold came to pass. 793
In the priest's house was a room formed of tapa screens. If people came to [787]
consult the priest he told them to wait for the god. After waiting inside the [825]
house for a while, a gecko usually put in its appearance somewhere in the
house and was regarded as the manifestation of the god. Should relatives
of a very sick man appeal to the god, the appearance of the gecko was
regarded as a favorable omen for the man's recovery, its non-appearance
indicating that the god did not wish the patient to live. Usually the priest
was hidden behind the tapa screen when the gecko appeared. When the priest [787]
became possessed by the god he lay down and shook violently. After the
spasm of trembling was over he would sit up and tell the waiting people the
wishes of the god. It is said this priest talked in a natural tone of voice.
This particular priest was murdered by Taufaahau, afterwards King George I.
Taufaahau had warned the priest to cease his practice, but he did not do so.
Taufaahau had his people bring kava to the house of the god. There the
kava ring was formed and the brew served. Taufaahau served the priest.
As he threw back his head to drink, Taufaahau struck him on the neck with
his fist and killed him. Thereafter the adherents of the god became Chris- [797]
tian.

Three informants of Faleloa, and one of Fotua, Foa Island, Haapai, 776
related stories about the sanctuary of Tui Haa Fakafanua at that place. 778
The god's house was said to be a long house, hence the origin of the name
Faleloa for the modern village. As usual, the manifestation of the god at [825]
this sanctuary was through the medium of a gecko. The god appeared in or [793]
was represented (*fakafofonga*) by a woman named Nganga, according to the
Faleloa informants; by a priest named Makaui according to the Fotua infor-
manT.

objection was that it had been the place of a god's house. Girls of Pangaimotu 776
were warned not to bathe on the beach in front of this site lest the god 778
steal them away. A girl thus ravished by the god either died shortly thereafter, 784 [515]
or was never seen again. [833] [763]

HINA

The moon is regarded as the abode of Hina, the goddess of beauty and 776
consort of the handsome god Sinilau. It is said that in the full moon, Hina 821
can be seen seated under an *ovava* tree beating tapa on a tapa board (*tutua*). One informant mentioned a moon god named Mahina, which is also the designation of the physical moon itself and also of the months. The term *hinehina* refers to the whiteness of moonlight. The sun seems also to have been anthropomorphised, for he is characterized as the father of certain
heroes (26, p. 111). There were, however, no temples to either the sun or [778]
the moon, nor were there any priests so far as I could learn. [793]

TAUFA

The full name of the deity Taufa is Taufaitahi or Taufa of-the-sea. 776
His principal shrine seems to have been at Tatakamotonga, in Mua, the capital 778
of Tongatabu. The temple, called Kikiloi, was located on the tract Ahau. This temple was not different from any ordinary Tongan house. There was also a temple of this god in the tract called Ahau in the present village of
Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. In both Haapai and Tongatabu the god 776
was believed to appear in the form of a white man-eating shark (*tenifa*). 825
Should a *tenifa* kill anyone, the people considered that the god was angry and [782]
proceeded to present kava and other things to propitiate him. In Lifuka, the descendants of the former shark worshippers still live in the tract called Ahau. The head of the family today is David Ti.

Taufaitahi bears the distinction of having been the patron god of Taufaahau, 776
later King George I. 643 755

> Taufaahau was originally called as a small boy Ngininginiofolanga. His health was poor, so his parents brought him from Haapai to Tongatabu, taking him to the chief Vaea of Houma and to Maafutukuiaulahi of Vaini, whose daughter, Hoamofaleono, was
> Taufaahau's mother. Moreover, in that time there was a famine in Haapai. Vaea and [778]
> Maafu took the boy to the temple of Taufaitahi at Mua and besought Kautae the
> priest to plead for him. They carried the boy into the god's house and then they [793]
> brought a coconut to Kautae who spun it. When the coconut stopped, the eyes [787]
> pointed skyward (out of the door of the house) and the sickness left the boy. If the coconut had pointed otherwise the boy would have died. The cause of the boy's sickness
> was unknown. The god was in the priest Kautae at the time of the cure. At 776
> the curing Kautae, while inspired, said to Taufaahau's family: "I'm going to cure 793
> him. I think he is better. I think I can make him better. If I can't you'd better 787
> take him to another god. I'll spin the coconut to see if he will get better." 755

> After spinning the coconut, Kautae cracked it and then sprinkled everyone with 776
> coconut water. This was to make the sickness leave Taufaahau. After the god had 755
> restored the boy to health, Kautae changed his name from Ngininginiofolanga to Tau- 643
> faahau. [553]
>
> Any chief sick a long while might be brought before Kautae, with such presents
> as roast pig and kava. The visitors sat very quietly while the god entered Kautae. 776
> The coming of the god was shown by Kautae's looking "like a fool." When the god 793
> entered Kautae he was seated. [The informant, the Kautae of 1921, had seen his father 755
> thus possessed.] Afterwards Kautae spun the coconut to determine if the person would 787
> live. Then kava was made for the god. The kava was drunk by the people, but sea [276]
> water brought in a coconut vessel was given to the god through his representative [415]
> Kautae. The kava was served in banana leaf cups, as was the salt water. These, to-
> gether with the bowl and strainer were brought by Fakaotoota, the priest's attendant
> who was regularly appointed by Kautae. These were used anciently in place of coco- [415]
> nut shells. Salt water did not make Kautae sick. The god was still in Kautae when
> he drank salt water. Kautae shook all over when the god was in him. The movement of the body was an up-and-down trembling, arms flexed and shaking, head bowed
> slightly, eyes staring.

The succession to the priestly office of Kautae seems to have been as 793
follows: (5) the incumbent of 1921; (4) the incumbent's father; (3) the 428
incumbent's father's father's brother's son; (2) the incumbent's father's
father's brother; (1) the incumbent's father's father.

The present Kautae said that, when a new priest was appointed at the 793
death of the old one, the god enters the new priest, even though the new 776
priest was only an appointee of the chief or of the king. The present Kautae, 287
who is a Christian, has never felt as though the god were going to enter him. [795]
His son, who will probably succeed to the title, is called Halafaiafenga.

There are two tales about an alleged tomb of the god Taufaitahi which 776
lies beneath the sea. One version places this tomb between Vavau and
Niuatoputapu. It is said that in looking through the waters from a boat one
can see the white tomb (*faitoka*) and usually near it Taufaitahi himself in the
form of a white shark. The other tale attributes the tomb to the bay of
Mua in the lagoon of Tongatabu, and between the island of Moungatapu and
the place called Nahafu. It cannot be seen from the surface of the water
on account of the mud, but by diving the alleged grave can be seen, a
stone surrounded by white sand; it is called Muliafanini. The god himself
is said to have dubbed this submarine spot his grave.

A tale refers to the seizing of a man named Fatuimoana by the shark god 776
Taufaitahi: 825
773

> A number of people were going to the island of Motutapu, Tongatabu, one day [524]
> to attend games of playing in the surf (*fanifo*). The shark seized Fatuimoana by the
> arm when he dived and dragged him beneath the water. The people could look down
> and see the victim being held by the great shark. The priest of the god was sent for
> and came in the boat. He dived down and brought the drowned Fatuimoana to the
> surface. The body of the victim was taken to the Hahake district in Tongatabu and [782]
> the inferior relatives of Fatuimoana had their little fingers cut off and brought as
> offerings to Kautae who was begged to restore Fatuimoana to life, but all in vain.

[Tongatabu Island]

Pulotu Katoa was a weather god controlling drought, hurricane, and rain. 776
His sanctuary was at Kolonga, in northeastern Tongatabu, and his priest bore [821]
the title of Vakaahi. The site of his temple was called Haateiho and the [778]
temple itself was called Faletoonga (House-of-rites). The last Vakaahi died [793]
about 1878. I was able, however, to interview his son's son, Tangatailoa,
and obtained from him the following information:

> Vakaahi said that when the spirit of Pulotu Katoa entered him he felt that it 776
> completely filled him, and he felt that it was the god who spoke and not himself.
> The god inspired him only at the tract Haateiho. When there was a drought the 793
> Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Havea chiefs came from west Tongatabu to Mua, where they [787]
> interviewed the Tui Tonga, preparatory to paying a visit to the temple of Pulotu
> Katoa. The offerings which were brought to the god were fine mats, tapa, and [782]
> other forms of wealth. These were kept in a special storehouse near the priest's
> residence. Most of them were never used, but were allowed to decay. What the
> priest might need he took, however. One Tui Tonga bestowed upon the priest Vakaahi [643]
> two pieces of land in Lapaha. They were called Ahotalakoloa and Faletoonga.
>
> It is said that Takai, the chief of Pea, Tongatabu Island, once had an argument with the god Pulotu Katoa, while the god was incarnate in his priest. The argument centered around the ability of the god to create a hurricane. As a test Takai built a house and the god promptly blew it down. Then Takai built a second house of hard wood called *ngesi*. This was built very strongly with posts all around. The god tried in vain to blow it down. The remains of this house which was called Fakaveleatenge are still to be seen in Pea.

Another story refers to an occasion on which Fae, the younger brother of 776
Takai, and his successor at Pea, besought Pulotu Katoa for rain to break a 793
drought: 782

821

> Fae called at Pea an assembly of the priests of all of the gods of Tongatabu. [622]
> Each priest besought his god for rain, but to no avail. Then Fae suggested that they all proceed to Kolonga to beseech Pulotu Katoa for rain, at his shrine. This was done. Vakaahi, the priest instructed the visitors to prepare kava for the god stating that he would supply the water. The kava was chewed and placed in the bowl. Although it was a clear, hot day, a cloud appeared over the bowl and rain fell and filled it. Moreover, the rain continued to such an extent that it was up to the waists of the chiefs and priests in the kava circle. Fae insisted that they should not move, lest the god become insulted.
>
> When the rain was over they set out for Pea, but Fae decided to remain at Ahau in Mua. Before the departure of the visitors Vakaahi's wife gave the priests and chiefs fresh tapa garments to replace the wet ones. Vakaahi asked Fae before his departure where he would spend the night, for he intended to have the rain cease until Fae had reached his destination. Fae replied that he would remain at Ahau in Mua for the night. The rain was withheld until he reached Ahau. The rest of the party went on to Pea, but in a heavy rain, for just as soon as Fae had reached his destination the rain commenced to fall again, as was foretold. Fae's purpose in stopping at Ahau was to visit the priest of the god Taufaitahi. Fae had a house of his own at Ahau.

It is to be noted that Farmer (23) states on the authority of early 776
Methodist missionaries that Hikuleo was the most important deity of Tongatabu and the one for whom the *inasi* ceremony was held. Yet modern informants stress Pulotu Katoa and have little to say about Hikuleo. I suspect

[Lifuka Island]

South of the mound Lefelefevalu is a stone called Anganganiofae, which 776
is said to be natural in formation but which looks like a fish having the head 773
of a stingray (*fai*) and the tail of a shark (*anga*). 823

DEITIES OF LIFUKA ISLAND

Aloalo seems to have been an important Haapai god with his sanctuary 776
on the tract Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka Island. He seems to have been 778
especially a weather god and was also consulted concerning future events. [821]

The temple of the god was a Tongan house, one end of which was screened off with cane (*kaho*). The god was represented by a whale's tooth (*lei*) which was kept in this compartment covered by a fine mat (*kie*). "He stayed alone like a king and no one was with him." People who came to consult the god waited outside the house.
They brought with them presents of food which they left in the anteroom of the house 776
just within the entrance, but away from the compartment where the god dwelt. Food 778
that was left by departing visitors would be found to have entirely disappeared upon 782
their return and this was true even if the food was a hundred pound pig.

If people planned to voyage from Haapai to Tongatabu they brought food to Aloalo 776
and inquired as to the most propitious time for setting sail. The god would tell them 787
whether they should leave immediately or later, in order to enjoy good weather all of 484
the way. He might also instruct the voyagers as to the most propitious time to return [782]
from Tongatabu. If they failed to regard his instructions they were likely to meet with mishap.

The "boat" of the god was the white tern (*tala*). When people went shark fishing 776
they followed the god's bird so they might be led to a good fishing ground. The bird 825
of the god seems to have been a captive white tern with a string tied to its foot. Today 226
the white tern is still used as an indicator of good fishing grounds.

The god manifested himself by causing the whale's tooth to move or shake. How- 776
ever, prior to the shaking, a yellow butterfly, appearing at the front door of the god's 825
house, indicated that the deity would shortly appear in the whale's tooth. The appear-
ance of the yellow butterfly was to inform the priest of the god's impending visit. The [782]
people in general were apprised and would come to pray on such an occasion, particularly those people who had illness. It is said that the butterfly was not the god himself, but merely the messenger of the god.

Aloalo not only predicted the weather but he could also govern it, for example, 776
being able to stop excessive rains when prayed to do so by the people. Aloalo's priest 821
was called Vavanga (literally "to know everything"). He served as intermediary be-
tween the supplicants and the god. After the appearance of the yellow butterfly and [793]
the movements of the whale's tooth the god entered the priest, who would be convulsed [787]
by trembling. While in this state he delivered the message of the god to the people. The priest when inspired was seated, not reclining. The district in which the tract of the god was located was called Ahau, a name which refers to the ruling chief.

The daughter's son of the last priest Vavanga was living at the site in 793
1920, and my informant was himself the son's son of Vavanga. There was 115
another sanctuary of Aloalo near the northern end of Lifuka Island at the 778
village of Holopeka.

Aloalo went the same way as the rest of the Haapai gods when Taufaahau 776
set out to destroy them. The priest of the god fled, however, so that he 797
escaped the fate of other priests and priestesses who were put to death by 798
Taufaahau. 793

[Lifuka Island]

An informant, Josiah Paluto of Pangai, Lifuka, gave me the following 776
account of the god Ngaohaa: [115]

The priestess much consulted by the chiefs of Pangai, Lifuka, was an old woman named Melaia who resided at Holopeka, on a tract that is situated in the hereditary lands of Tui Afitu, who lives in Vavau. The priestess resided in a heathen temple 776
by herself and she was very powerful (mighty), "just like God"; for she was able to 793
accomplish many things. She served the god Ngaohaa, who was also the deity of Fonoifua Island, which likewise belongs to Tui Afitu. [It seems likely that the god was Tui Afitu's tulelary deity.]

If she said it would rain, rain came. If she said it would blow hard, it did so. The 776
people used to go to consult her. If a voyage was about to be undertaken and the 793
priestess said it would blow, the voyage was abandoned for that day; but she would 821
direct the people upon which day to sail, as the wind would be favorable on that day. 484
If oil-making was to be done by the chiefs, the priestess would be asked if the weather
would be fine or wet. If she said it would be fine, the oil-making was undertaken, but 793
if she said it would be wet, the oil-making was deferred. 821

If a chief's child was sick, the child and a woman would be taken to the priestess 776
and a finger cut off of the woman and offered as a sacrifice. The priestess would then 793
be asked about the child's chances of recovery. The priestess would reply: "You must 787
await the god's appearance." As they sat and waited they would see the priestess 755
tremble and suddenly the god would appear in the form of a gecko (*moko*). The [782]
priestess would exclaim: "The god has appeared and you may return in peace, as the chief's offspring will live." The signs were easily read and depended upon the appearance or non-appearance of the god.

At other times chiefs would go to the priestess to consult as to future events. 776
Melaia would say: "Wait here until the god appears." Presently he would appear, but 793
the first thing the chiefs would notice would be the trembling of Melaia, who at the 787
same time would bring up green vomit. Afterwards Melaia would say: "Chiefs and people, listen well to me. The god did damage last night. He ate man. Now these are the instructions to you. You chiefs can leave this place and rest. Come back tomorrow. In the meantime, the god and I will hold a consultation as to the reason of these recent happenings."

On one occasion Melaia consulted the god, who said to her: "This is what you must tell to the chiefs and people when they come tomorrow: One of the Tui Tonga's vessels left last night, but met with disaster enroute. A matapule of the Tui Tonga was coming on an errand for him; namely, to take away the Tui Haa Takalaua's daughter. As the vessel is wrecked, the message has not been delivered and the Tui Tonga's matapule is lost, he who is the son of Paku. He and many others were swallowed by a man-eating shark (*tenifa*). When the shark was opposite Holopeka it jumped ashore. Then the gecko went and ate the shark." Afterwards the gecko vomited through Melaia and it was green blood he vomited. The loss of the Tui Tonga's vessel had been unknown to the chiefs until Melaia informed them.

This was the answer that Melaia gave to the people the next day, saying: "This is what has happened regarding what you wanted to know."

Another informant, Ana Manu of Holopeka, had this to say regarding [115]
Ngaohaa:

The people prayed and made obeisance to this god. There was a house for the god 776
in the town of Holopeka. The situation of the house was called Tave, and the holy 778
place (*potu tapu*) was called Pava. It was strictly prohibited for anyone to enter the place in which was the god. A basket was placed in the shrine. In it were a throwing club and a whale's tooth, which were wrapped in a piece of tapa (*fetoaki*) smeared with turmeric on the outside.

Should people come to pray to the god they remained outside and expressed their [782]

[Lifuka Island]

> wants. Were the god complaisant to a sick person, he would be taken into Melaia's 776
> house, who would then gently massage the patient and he would recover. When 778
> people came to make supplication to the god they would wreathe themselves about the 782
> neck with *ifi* (chestnut) leaves and veil themselves with white tapa. Loud talking and [757]
> noise were strictly forbidden close to the god's premises in Holopeka. [784]

Ngaohaa was also the principal deity of Fonoifua Island. The chief 776
Taifonoifua, as well as Tui Afitu, was under the protection of this god, who 793
manifested himself only through his priestess, a woman named Fipe. The [825]
god Ngaohaa was probably represented in the shellfish *pava*, like certain
other gods who had fish or shellfish as their representatives. Pava was also [778]
the name of the house or holy place of Ngaohaa, located on the tract Tave.
As usual the presence of the god became manifest by the trembling of the [787]
priestess, who was usually in a reclining position when the god entered her.
Old informants who knew the last priestess said that she was an old woman. Although the deity became manifest in a priestess, he was nevertheless conceived of as a god, not a goddess. The information is not altogether clear as to whether the name Ngaohaa refers only to the god or also to the family to which the priestess Fipe belonged. This family is of matapule rank and some members of it are now living on Oua Island.

Finger sacrifices to this god were resorted to in trouble or sickness. The 776
finger joints cut off were taken to the priestess, who pronounced the will 782
of the god in the matter which was pending. Voyagers sailing from Haapai
to Tongatabu, being delayed at Nomuka Island for weeks on account of 776 484
head winds, went to Fonoifua to beseech the aid of the god Ngaohaa for 782
favorable winds. It is said no offerings were made, but this hardly seems
believable. The premises of the god on Fonoifua comprised a Tongan 776
house of ordinary type, surrounded by a fence of living *puko* stakes such 778
as are to be seen commonly in Tonga to-day. This fence was built and 793
kept in repair by the Fonoifua people, who guarded it, in order that no [417]
harm might befall the priestess. The house itself was on a mound and was [794]
occupied only by the priestess. The rest of her family are said to have dwelt in other houses within the fence.

A god named Uluenga (Head-covered-with-turmeric) had a house at 776
Holopeka, Lifuka Island. The following information about Uluenga was 778
imparted by Ana Manu of Holopeka:

> The priest of the god was named Havea. The shrine (*fakafaanga*) was a basket [793]
> containing three articles, namely, a throwing club, a whale's tooth, and a *paango lafo*
> (round portion of bottom of the coconut shell used in a game something like deck billiards). These articles were wrapped in white tapa, which was smeared with turmeric. The god had his house on the premises called Haalupo. The holy place or
> temple was known as Uhaimahu (Rain-in-time-of-plenty). It was not permissible for
> people to enter into the holy place. Also loud talking was prohibited in the god's [784]
> premises.

[Lifuka Island]

In making obeisance to the god on the occasion of some disaster, the people would 776
place around their necks wreaths of *ifi* leaves and don white tapa on their heads. They 782
would remain outside and make obeisance. If their purpose was the cure of a sick 755
person, the person would be brought on a kind of litter or bier and placed outside
where the people were sitting. The patient would be massaged and anointed by the [757]
priest and would recover.

In the holy place were various trees. Should anyone pluck of them that person 776
would fall down near unto death. If taken to the god, he would recover. If the car- 778
riage to the god's house was not speedy, death would result. 784
753

When the god entered into Havea, his priest, it was noticed that Havea trembled.
His face changed color and he "looked dreadful." Havea had concubines who resided 776
in the place called Manikolo. These were allotted separate periods with Havea and 793
slept with him in pairs, one to be with him in the day time and the other to be with [787]
him in the night time. [595]

The people said prayers to Uluenga. The god had his graveyard which was called 776
Haa Fakanapa. 782

There was a god in Koulo, Lifuka, whose name was Tangakina. The name of his [778]
premises where he had a home, was Nahakalau. People prayed and made supplication
to him. If persons were sick they would go to the god's place. They remained outside [516]
of his house, however, bending the body in respect. The god also had a water hole [778]
called Faatoto, which means "often blood stained." [823]

Deities of Foa Island

In addition to the account of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua (p. 297), the informant Mesake Lomu of Fotua, gave me this report of another god of Foa Island:

> Fakatoufifita was the god of the chief Niukapu in Fangaleounga, Foa. The people [755]
> prayed to Fakatoufifita and if any person was sick, they would cut off the finger of
> another and take it to Fakatoufifita as an offering, which was wrapped in an unfinished
> piece of tapa (*fetaaki*). The patient would immediately recover.
>
> The god (priest?) lived in his house in Fangaleounga on the premises known as [793]
> Fungasi. There was a sacred basket of the god's, inside of which were two objects, [778]
> a whale's tooth and a parcel of turmeric.

Deities of Haafeva Island

Tonu and Lahe, presumably male deities, were mentioned as being asso- 776
ciated with a well or spring which was regarded as their property. The 778
spring is called Matahiva. [823]

Deities of Fotuhaa Island

My informant did not know the name of the patron deity of Fotuhaa,
but said that the name of the tract in the bush where the priest of the god lived
was Laulea. This god seems to have been besought if there was a drought, [821]
the people bringing coconuts and wreathes (*sisi*) and making kava in front [782]
of the god's house.

> The god, while in possession of the person of the priest, drank the kava. After the 776
> kava drinking the spokesman of the people, usually a matapule, would tell the god that 793
> the island had been long without rain and that rain was desired. The god, speaking 787
> 821

through the priest, would reply, "Very well, you may prepare for rain. Fix the leaky 776
roofs, bring food, and prepare everything for the rain. In four or five days it must 793
rain." On one particular occasion the sixth day dawned without a cloud in the sky, 787
but by three o'clock in the afternoon the rain clouds had assembled and the rain had 821
begun. The rain lasted for the period which the god had predicted. The Fotuhaa people always followed this procedure whenever they wished rain.

When the missionaries were about to come to Fotuhaa, the god informed the peo- 776
ple that he was going to leave and to take up his residence on the islands of Kao and [797]
Tofua. He knew in advance of the coming of the missionaries. The informant, a
Fotuhaa man, seemed to consider the god and the priest as practically identical. At [793]
least he designated both by the term *taula tevolo.*

This same mode of identifying priest and god was common to most all of [793]
the informants I interviewed concerning the gods.

DEITIES OF HAANO ISLAND

The god of Tui Haa Ngana, the ruler of Haano Island, was called Feinga Uteo (To-earnestly-desire-sugar-cane). Nothing was learned about the attributes or functions of this god. The sanctuary of Hikuleo on this island has been discussed earlier.

Another god of Haano, and one quite prominent also in Tongatabu Island, was Haele Feke.

The sanctuary of this god in Haano was located on the tract which was owned by [778]
the Tui Kanokupolu and was under the care of the matapule Kioa. Haele Feke was [787]
thought to know beforehand what was about to occur. The coming of the god was
indicated by an octopus (*feke*) coming from the sea to the tract where the priest lived. 776
When an octopus thus came, the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule Kioa brought tapa and 825
coconut leaf mats (*takapau*). The mats were placed on the ground and the tapa on top of them, so that the incarnation of the god might rest upon them. The octopus in
which the god became incarnate might be either a white or a brown octopus. The [793]
priest of the god was himself named Feke (Octopus). After the message of the god
had been delivered the priest took the octopus from the pile of tapa to the water. The 776
coming ashore of the octopus was regarded as a harbinger of coming events and such a 787
visit was followed by some anxiety on the part of the people. On one occasion a num-
ber of sick people died a few days after the visit of the god. It was then believed that [763]
the visit was ominous of their forthcoming death. It is said that the house of the [793]
priest was half a mile from the beach and on a site called Fotuamua. It seems inconceivable that an octopus could travel such a distance overland. It would seem more likely that he was received at the beach by the priest. The Tongan informant, from whom the above information was obtained, was unable to say whether the god Haele Feke was male or female.

DEITIES OF MOUNGAONE ISLAND

There were two brother gods in Moungaone. Moso was the name of the elder, 776
Pusipapanga the younger; their father was Tutumatua; the mother, Finetaunganoa. Toke was the priest for both gods. Their incarnations were human in form and manifested themselves in one house on the tract Nukutuli. They lived in a rock on Moun-
gaone called Mosomaka, which was about ten feet high, round and hollow and could [784]
be entered. It was tapu; people dared not go near it under penalty of death. The [177]
god Moso was the same as Moso in Samoa. The priest Toke shook when inspired and [787]
[793]

told the people that the gods wished pigs and other food, and when they saw the priest 776
shaking they knew the god wanted something. There is no descendant of the present 787
Toke living in Moungaone to-day. Kava Moungaone is the chief of Moungaone, and the 793
two gods were his patrons.

A third deity of Moungaone was the fish god Fakapatu (26, p. 81).

DEITIES OF NOMUKA ISLAND

Folautaofi was a god of Nomuka living in a hill called Fungaholu. The people 782
prayed to this god and if anyone was sick, a person of his family sacrificed a little 755
finger to the god. If a boat came from another place and then wanted to return but 776
could not because of strong wind, the people thought it was because the god was living 821
in the top of the mast of the vessel. The mast was then taken down, when the wind 505
quieted and the sea became smooth, so that they had a good day to go, the mast was
set up again. In the hill is a big hole with many human bones. It is thought that 776
Folautaofi lived in this hole and ate men. The "boat" of the god was the *kakafatu*, 266
a shellfish which is not eaten by the people. 784
262

Fehuluni, a deity who appears in various parts of the kingdom, is a frequenter of Nomuka especially (p. 292).

DEITIES OF UIHA ISLAND

Of the several deities of Uiha concerning whom I obtained information, Hikuleo (p. 292) and Tokeimoana (9, p. 234) have been to some extent described. Tokeimoana (Eel-in-the-ocean) became incarnate in the eel, as 825
his name implies.

Tokeimoana's house, called Hakaumama (Reef-of-the-world), was in the bush on a 778
tract called Fongolongo. A priest named Hakaumama lived there and was fed there 776
and told the people whatever the god wanted. Sometimes the priest would say to the 793
people, "The god has arrived and is desirous of dining on pork." Thereupon the people would bake a pig and give it to him. Or he would demand some tapa; whereupon they would cut off a piece and give it to him.

When there was any sickness, a healthy man or woman was brought to the priest 782
to have a little finger amputated and taken to the god's house and offered as a sacrifice. 776
The person selected was a child of the sick person's mother's brother (*tuasina*), in other 755
words, an inferior cross-cousin. Some of the sick got well. 605

Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) and his family bowed down before the god 776
Tokeimoana. They were forbidden to eat sea eel, but the people who were not wor- 784
shippers might eat it. The people who worshipped this god had to lie exposed on the 262
spot where the eel had been broiled or baked even if the fire was still burning. If 785
they knew it was the place where their "god" had been killed they would go off in an-
other direction so as to avoid coming close to it. Whenever the eel in which the god 825
was incarnate crawled about on dry land, the people assembled at the god's house and talked to it and when it returned to the water they left.

Havealkai was another Uiha god but was worshipped only at Felemea. The priests 776
of this god, after conversion to Christianity, bore the name Malakai. I could not learn 793
the Tongan name. The priest is said to have manifested the usual trembling when the 787
god entered him. People near death were brought to him and finger sacrifices offered 755
by some one of the sick person's relatives. So far as I can learn the operation of [illegible]
cutting off a finger joint was never performed by the priest himself, but always by one 304
of the supplicants. The informant did not know what animal constituted the "boat"
of the god. Offerings of food brought by the people to this god would be completely 782
consumed by Malakai, if he were inspired, or as the Tongan informant put it, he could

eat everything because his god was in him. To Haveakai, and to other Tongan gods, a 776
huge root of kava was an invariable present, as it is to a great chief. Such a sized 793 782
root was called *kongo kava.* [276]

The priest of the god Kafoiaatu was named Maumui and his home was in the tract 776
Manaiange, in Uiha, where he had a house. He possessed whale ivory, which was 793
kept in a fine mat, and black tapa. The fine mat was placed on the black tapa, and 778
then wrapped in a piece of ordinary tapa, and no one was allowed to go near the place
where it was kept.

This deity was also the god of the chief Malupo of Uiha, and he and the people 776
prayed to Kafoiaatu. When they went to offer sacrifice they would wear Tahitian 782
chestnut leaves strung around their necks. They would sit outside the god's house and [301]
pray from there. They had also plain tapa (*lou-fetaaki*) wound around their heads. [516]
No chief ever offered any sacrifice, but the matapule did. [565]

The bird of the god is the fruit dove *kulukulu* (*Ptilopus porphyraceus*) and the 776
spirit of the god entered the *kulukulu.* If this dove flew and roosted in a tree, noise [825]
of any kind would be forbidden nearby. When Kafoiaatu entered Maumui, he shiv- [787]
ered and cried and changed and became white like a corpse. If anyone was on the [763]
point of death and a person's finger was cut off and given as an offering to Kafoiaatu [782]
and that offering was accepted, the person recovered.

Another Uiha deity was the god Taufamangumoetoto.

His priest was Kakala. His tract was Finetofusi and he had a house on it. The [793]
things he left in this house were a shield (*pa*) and a club. The bird of the god was [778]
the *kaleva* (*Eudynamis tahitiensis*) and he often entered into this bird. This god hated [825]
dogs. The people prayed and sacrificed to him. If there was any sickness, or a person [782]
near death, they would then cut off somebody's finger and take it to Taufamangumoetoto [755]
and if the sacrifice were accepted, the person would live. If sacrifice were to be made [763]
the people wore a string of *hoi* leaves round their necks and then went and offered sacri- [784]
fice to the god. It was forbidden that they enter the god's house and they would sit out- [778]
side. This god belonged to Tuita Toluafetupu and his family and was regarded as very
sacred (*toputapu aupito*). It was forbidden for anyone to make any noise near, or to
enter, the god's premises.

Another god in Uiha was called Foliaki of Pulotu.

This god belonged to Malupo and his family. His priest was Havea who lived [793]
in a house on the island Uiha; but apparently the shrine of the god was on Tatafa
Island. He had a basket as the shrine (*fakafaanga*) and container of his sacred objects [778]
of whale ivory and shells. He also had a pigeon (*lupe, Globicera pacifica*) which he [825]
would let loose. The pigeon would go to Tatafa Island and the people would go to the
pigeon. Their gatherings all took place at the Sia Hinefaitehina. If anyone was ill he [755]
and his relatives would string the chestnut leaves and wear them around their necks [782]
and go to the god and make their sacrifices near his shrine.

This god's food consisted of yams, pork, and other things, and he would drink the [782]
young coconuts. He detested the name of Fatafehi and it was never mentioned in Uiha. [784]
For the same reason the name Manumataongo Polau Faivaka was never called.

When this god entered Havea, the priest is said to shiver and change, and his face [787]
to become red, and his manner utterly different. Kava was not served to Havea in the [276]
ordinary kava cup, but in a folded banana leaf. He had scraped coconut for relish
(*fono*) and this was folded up in banana leaves. After he had partaken of the kava,
he would lift up his relish and eat it all, not leaving a crumb.

All noise, such as whistling and clapping, was forbidden at this god's place. [784]

There were two other Uiha deities whose names and sex the informant
did not know. One of these deities had a house on a tract called Pulemoui,

> Seketoa, who according to all versions belongs to the royal family of Niua, may 776
> well be a mere "invention" of one of the kings of Niua, framed for the purpose of
> deceiving his subjects and of forestalling any future revolt on their part against his 825
> family. The fear of displeasing Seketoa, the sea-god and ancestor of Maatu may have secured the latter's authority and prevented the natives tired of his domination from quitting the island in frail canoes in search of new lands.
>
> Those who may feel satisfied with this explanation might confirm it by saying that 776
> elephantiasis and diseases of the skin prove that the punishment occasioned by the mur- 825
> der of Seketoa is always upon the population. That such diseases exist and are the 753
> plague of the country I know from experience. I remember a kava in which I took
> part in Niua, while I was there some years ago on a protracted visit. We sat nine 164
> in all. With the exception of the two girls that were preparing the drink, we were all afflicted with elephantiasis. I think, however, that the marshes of the island were rather a more efficient cause of it than Seketoa.
>
> However that may be, and although I may be called a simpleton for it, I will add 776
> that those conjectures concerning Seketoa deserve no credit, though I am disposed to 825
> believe that in his manifestations there is something mysterious and disquieting. Such as have dwelt a certain number of years in our islands know how difficult it is to dislodge the devil from his haunts. Now, at the close of the last century, he was absolute master of Niua Toputapu. If he was forced to yield ground, he did so reluctantly; and at all events was careful to leave deceitful snares behind him. And what can his apparent help prove in the case I have related of the *lali* of our Catholics? Absolutely nothing, if not that all means are good enough for him, so long as he can induce souls into error and ravish from God some of the honor and confidence which are His due.

Once when Father Thomas, S. M., was near Niuatoputapu, he saw Seketoa about his boat for more than two hours. He describes him as a large fish with changing colors. On another occasion Seketoa saved one of the members of the mission from drowning. Father Thomas, together with some natives, was proceeding on a raft which began to sink. When hope was lost, Seketoa appeared beneath the raft and buoyed it up until they reached shore safely.

The chief Maatu spoke of two rocks between Niuatoputapu and Samoa, 776
called Fatukau and Fatukalapu, which were deified. They were the home of the god Fatuulu:

> Fatuulu, in human form, used to come to Tafahi Island and give commands. His
> voice was heard to Niuatoputapu Island. A man who used to be his mouthpiece was
> named Toumaama, meaning "man near god (*tou*) spreader (of god's words)." He was [793]
> the priest in the time of Ngongo (p. 285). There is a place on Tafahi to be seen now where
> Fatuulu stood. They never ate fish in Niuatoputapu until the god gave permission. If [784]
> anyone ate before the god lifted the tapu that person died immediately on the first [262]
> mouthful. This applied to all fish. Toumaama notified the people for the god. When [787]
> the god came, Toumaama would tremble like a leaf, and would neither eat nor drink.
> The god came and went as he pleased. The tapu was put on or lifted as the god
> liked. The presence of the god is still evidenced by the fact that certain small fish [224]
> (*kaloama*) immediately leave if proper form is not observed in catching them.
>
> When the god appeared in the priest, he uttered commands as to killing of pigs. 776
> Thunder and lightning accompanied the god as he walked over the ocean. The priest 793
> then became possessed, for the god came and entered into the priest. The face of the 787
> priest was all illuminated, his eyes staring. The people would hide when the god [252]

appeared. When the priest became inspired he uttered the god's commands. The priest 776
always became inspired at one particular place on Tafahi. There was no temple, however, 793
but only a large rock which was also called Fatuulu. (The gods entered their 787
priests only at certain places.) The ground at this rock was sacred. Any man who [778]
stood on it would die. Even a Maatu might not go there. Fatuulu commanded all the
fish. The *kaloama* was not especially sacred to him. Fatuulu was the Otua Haa [825]
Maatu, that is, the god of the lineage of Maatu. [613]

Maatu knew the place of another god but did not remember his name. 776

There was a god house. This god supported Maatu (Ikamafana II?) when he conquered 776
Tafahi. Ngongo did some fighting, too. The god's house (43) was like a chief's 346
house, except that it was closed in all around and the entrance was through a hole
just under the eaves, reached by climbing a tree. This god entered into Maatu himself; 776
that is, into everyone of the line. The god that entered Maatu was different 787
from those that entered priests. The reason the Niuatoputapuans were not conquered
by the Tongatabuans was because this god stayed with them all the time. The difference
between this god and Fatuulu was that this god was in Maatu all the time
and never left him, while Fatuulu came from the rocks in the ocean to enter Toumaama.
Maatu himself as embodying his god was a priest too. In battle, Maatu's [793]
god would run ahead of him in human form.

When a person became ill he was carried to Maatu's god's house and laid outside. 776
If the person's sickness did not yield to medicines, a consultation of the family settled
who would sacrifice a little finger for the sick person. This was done in the sick 782
person's house, and the blood caught in a banana leaf and two outer finger joints [304]
placed in it. These were carried to the god's house. People would sit on the ground [516]
outside, cross-legged, hands clasped, heads bowed down. They put the offering on
the ground while the priest looked down from the doorway. This is said to apply also 776
to Fatuulu, who had a similar house. The priest would say, "It is well. The god 782
has told me you may take this man back. He is well now. His sin is finished." Then 793
they would all arise with the man that was sick and go home. 755

If the people went in the morning with sacrifice they might sit at the god's house 782
all day until the god gave an answer. Having to sit there in the sun was something of a
sacrifice itself. Each had to have a ragged mat around his waist and wear a necklace [292]
of Tahitian chestnut leaves.

A god's house might be in the bush. All was tapu around for a certain distance. 778
People would not go near. No one went inside. In the house of Maatu's god were [784]
war implements, large white cowries, and a kava bowl. Shells, other than cowries,
were strung spirally around the posts.

Seketoa did not have a priest because the transformation of the young chief to fish 776
form took place so recently. Seketoa had no house. He was always a fish after his 793
suicide. (26, p. 83.) 825

At times the priest would order a member of some family to be strangled. 793
The reason might be that the person did not believe in the god. "In 165
those days all were practically slaves to the gods." There were many other 776
gods unknown to the informant, but all were afraid of Maatu's god. The [825]
pig was sacred to Maatu's god. People might kill and eat pigs only at the
god's pleasure.

Offerings were not regularly made by the people. When the god wanted 776
something the priest gave orders that it be brought. No excuse would be 782
given for the demand.

PRIESTS AND POSSESSION

Tongan priests and priestesses suggest Turkic shamans, inasmuch as 793
they become inspired by the gods, by lesser spirits, and by the spirits of the 787
ancestors of chiefs or of recently deceased chiefs. The resemblance to the 171
shamans applies particularly to those Tongan priests who became inspired 793
by the spirits of deceased human beings, who, it was believed, came from 787
Pulotu to convey to the living certain messages. The resemblance becomes 775
even clearer when it is recalled that the Tongans apparently regard the spirits of chiefs and gods as being essentially alike. In fact, at the present time both gods and ghosts are called *tevolo.* The term *ulusino* refers to possession by a god or spirit. Baker defines *ulusino* as "to be possessed by evil spirits; to dwell in the body; to be one with man, applied to the gods."

If the spirit that manifested itself in a priest or priestess was of 793
human origin, it was invariably that of a great chief, such as the Tui Tonga, 787
rather than the spirit of a person of inferior rank. It is said that those 775
mediums who became animated by the spirits of dead Tui Tonga had no 643
special house of worship. They would seem not to have been regular [365]
priests who were already dedicated to the service of some god, but rather individuals who suddenly became inspired by the spirit of the deceased. Mariner (40) gives examples.

Tongan priests and priestesses further resemble shamans at least super- 793
ficially, in their supposed ability to cure illness, not, of course, through their 787
own unaided efforts but through their intercession with the gods. The sick 756
and infirm were brought to the houses of these priests when the gods were [171]
besought to cure them. Sacrifices were offered and oracles obtained through [782]
the priest who became inspired by the god, the oracle usually foretelling the course and result of the illness.

Priesthood appears normally to have remained in particular families, and 793
it appears that either men or women might become inspired. Priests are [428]
known by the terms *taula otua, taula eiki, taula tevolo* (devil), *toumama,* [462]
faahikehe, and apparently *feaa.* The word *toumama* means in general "the people or worshippers of any given god." The term *feaa* given by Farmer (23, p. 128) may be but an abbreviated form of *faahikehe,* a term also meaning god, spirit, ghost. Presumably *faahikehe* was applied only to a possessed priest.

Apparently it is permissible to regard the Tongan deities as somewhat 793
in the nature of a North American shaman's familiar, except, of course, 776
that the American shaman's familiar or guardian spirit does not actually 171
enter him and speak through him. In Tonga it was impossible to obtain information about guardian spirits other than family gods.

Some forms of illness, called to-day *faitoo fakatevolo,* are believed to be 787
caused by a god or spirit entering the body of a person and thus making 753
him ill. Special medicines and cabalistic signs made with the hands are [755]
employed today to dislodge such an unwelcome tenant. Another belief of [757]
the present time is that certain illness is caused by the god or spirit biting [776]
the sick person. Such an afflicted individual may say, "Nae tai au ehe tevolo"
(The devil has bitten me). I have heard it said that sometimes the discomfort 273
caused by over-indulgence in liquor is attributed to a divine visitation. 787

Middle age is the most popular period of life at which a person becomes 793
a medium for a god or spirit, although sometimes the deities and spirits [835]
manifest themselves through younger men and women, but never through [857]
children. Anciently, the god manifested himself through the successor of a
priest, but only after the death of the old priest. Usually priesthood [428]
passed from father to son, but sometimes the deity or spirit entered some [787]
other person unexpectedly. That person would inform the Tui Tonga
of the fact and would then be appointed to the priesthood. The priest of [643]
Pulotu Katoa was always appointed by the Tui Tonga, and presumably some
other priests were too, although it is not unlikely that many were appointed
by the chiefs of the families or lineages for whom they officiated. The priests
of Tonga did not form an association or brotherhood, as each seems to
have worked independently of his colleagues. This state of affairs is attested [797]
by the absence of organized resistance to Christianity. The Tui 643
Tonga was declared emphatically by all informants, including Rose Fatafehi, 793
son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, not to be a priest, in
spite of the statement of certain early writers to the effect that he was the
high priest of Tonga. My informants pointed out that the Tui Tonga did
appoint priests to represent the gods and especially the priests of Pulotu
Katoa, but that he himself was no priest.

Though the informant Tamale thought that the term *toumama* applied 793
only to priestesses and that *taula* applied to priests, there seem to be no data 124
to substantiate his opinion. Another informant said that the stem *mama*
refers to the will of the god. This same informant gave another term for
priest, namely, *fakahaeleanga.* No other informant, however, gave this term
and it may be therefore another rare synonym for *taula otua.* Ana Manu of
Haapai gave the term *fakafofonga* (representative) for priestess.

Each lineage seems to have had a deity with a presiding priest who had 778
in charge the *fakafaanga* or precious and sacred possessions of its god. [793]
Part of the *fakafaanga* were fine mats which constituted a form of wealth. [613]
One mat in particular was kept folded and on the occasion of the appearance
of the god was spread out for him to rest upon. This mat was treated
virtually as a shrine. It might not be disposed of under pain of death at [688]

lineal lineages. Thus, it is proper to speak only of the gods of chiefs and 776
of lineages not of the gods of localities. Often more than one god was 613
attached to a lineage. Thus the head of the Haa Takalaua might be under
the protection of a great god like Finautauiku. All members of the lineage
were likewise under that god's protection, and in addition, certain members
of the lineage might have lesser gods as their patrons.

Aside from Tangaloa Tufunga, the patron of carpenters, I could learn 776
of no occupational deities. The attachment of a god to the head of a family 463
might give the appearance of occupational deities. Thus, the head of a 592
matapule family, which practiced carpentering, or functioned as undertakers,
might have a certain deity as his patron, but as the patron of the family
rather than of the occupation.

Not only did the priest of a lineage or family act as a medium between 793
the lineage and the gods, but also as a medium between the lineage and the 775
spirits of its dead. Offerings were made to these spirits by the family 769
through the priest. It was thought that these ancestors could cause illness, [613]
a belief which doubtless led to the making of propitiatory offerings. How- [753]
ever, other more direct and retaliatory means were sometimes resorted to.
The grave of the offending ancestor might be broken open, the bones taken
out and beaten, and imprecations uttered. To avoid sickness caused by the [753]
spirit of the deceased relative or ancestor, Tongans did not pass through [764]
or near graveyards at night. It was thought that the spirits of ancestors 775
sometimes became visible. Thus, at Tatakamotonga in Tongatabu, a light,
supposed to be Tukuaho's spirit (*faahikehe*), is sometimes seen at the spot
where the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho was murdered in 1799. Not only 776
families headed by chiefs, but also those headed by matapule, had patron 565
gods. Some families of commoners had a household or patron deity. 592
The family of the great matapule Motuapuaka had the god Haele
Feke as its patron. This god became incarnate in the octopus and [825]
there was a tapu against Motuapuaka's people eating that animal. A Meth- [784]
odist minister named Malupo, who is a member of Motuapuaka's lineage, [262]
even to-day gets a headache when he eats octopus. This god sometimes 776
manifested himself in the priest, who conveyed verbally the messages of the 793
god, and upon the withdrawal of the god shook so violently, that people 787
must rush to him and hold him, in order that he might not injure himself.

The patron deity of the Tui Tonga is reported by Farmer (23) to 776
have been Hikuleo. The patron deity of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of the 643
great chief Tungi, was Finautauiku and the officiating priest was Mohekifiehua. The patron deity of the Tui Kanokupolu was Taliai Tupou whose priest was called Totohoumafisi. Tui Ahau was by some informants declared to be another manifestation of Taliai Tupou, by other informants a separate deity. Tui Ahau was regarded as a patron of the Tui Kano-

> fect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some of us were of 782
> opinion that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near relation. 304
> But Mr. Wales one day met with a man, whose hands were both perfect, of such an advanced age, that it was hardly possible his parents could be living. They also burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek bone. The reason of this was equally unknown to us.

Wilson (66, pp. lii, liii) and Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 210) describe well the process of finger sacrifice and tell of children competing for the privilege of sacrificing for some sick relative.

The sacrifice of human beings was resorted to on the following occasions: 782
(1) Sometimes to secure the recovery of a great chief from illness, (2) following 165
the death of a great chief when his widows might be strangled, or [622]
anciently perhaps burned alive, (3) at the funeral of a great chief, when [768]
the undertaker and (or) certain commoners would be imprisoned in the [764]
great stone burial vault, and left there to die, (4) at the dedication of certain [346]
temples, (5) perhaps on the occasion of the launching of certain great [396]
double vessels. The carving of living victims appears not to have been in 782
the nature of a sacrifice (26, pp. 34, 192).

Sacrifices to the gods to secure the recovery of a great chief often consisted 782
of one or more of the chief's own children by women of inferior 622
rank. Children of low rank who were liable to be sacrificed were called 165
tuputalinafi. A sacrifice for the recovery of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui is 755
described by Wilson (66, pp. 238, 239). Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 208) describes (643)
others. A sacrifice was made for the old chief Fatu of Tongatabu, father of Tungi I. Fatu was very ill, and his sister's son Tavake (Fatu's *fahu*) ordered that his own son be strangled as an offering. The strangling did not take place in the sick man's house but outdoors. The victim with his two executioners was covered with a huge piece of tapa. When the strangling cord had done its work the trio were uncovered and the corpse
of the victim carried into the house of the god Pulotu Katoa. The sacrifice [787]
was of no avail, for the god, speaking through his shaking priest, predicted [763]
Fatu's death, which shortly occurred. According to Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 410) a man destined for sacrifice was called *tangata tapu*.

The strangling of widows of great chiefs which was the custom at the 768
end of the eighteenth century, may have been due to Fijian influence (41, 177
vol. 2, p. 209; 66, p. 240). Some evidence that burning alive was an earlier 589
method appears in Samoan tales dealing with Tonga (36, vol. 1, pp. 94, 344). 622
Whether this custom can be connected with the suttee of India, I cannot [165]
say, but it seems quite possible that the burning may have been a cultural feature brought from the continent and later supplanted by the strangling cord of Fiji; or possibly strangling may be traced westward through Micronesia and connected with the custom in ancient Japan. Hearn (29, p. 314)

Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

If Maatu's younger brother or children vex Maatu and he is angry with them, he 778
will say as follows, "All right. You stay and just wait and you'll know something," 753
meaning, something bad will happen later on. In a couple of weeks one is sure to fall
sick and die, and then it will be said that that is "the *manai* (verbal form of mana) 554
of Maatu." Thus they would be punished for presumption. Then perhaps another [593]
will get sick. They will come to be reconciled to him, asking forgiveness and apologizing. Then he will say, "All right. I am good tempered again." After his saying that the sick one will recover. The process could not be reversed because Maatu is the higher in rank. The proof that that is true is that if one were to drink from
Maatu's coconut, his neck would swell up. Maatu might cure him by *amohi*—stroking [755]
the affected part. The stomach might swell too. This can be removed by the angry person touching with his hands the affected part, or blowing on it. [*Moemoei* consists of gently pressing the affected part with the feet. This was always done by a chief (p. 118).]

Weapons were placed in a temple in order to acquire the mana of the 778
god. John Havea said that when a weapon has mana, it is the "abode of a 411
spirit (*faahikehe*)" and it confers prowess and might on the user. A mana-charged club loaned to another would take its virtue with it. The method of lending was to lay the weapon across the open palm of the recipient's hand, the owner crushing and rubbing a piece of banana stalk on the weapon over the open palm of the other man's hand. This act was called *fanofano*. Vahai gave to Takai his own martial courage (*toa*) by doing *fanofano* to Takai.

Vahai's club was so full of mana that it could not lie still and was always moving (*futefute*) as it reposed in the house. On one occasion a man was sent to fetch from the house Vahai's club, which was wrapped in a mat. Entering, he could see no club, but only the bundle of mat, which kept moving, and he thought it to be a child. Returning he said there was no club, but only this child. Vahai told him to go and bring it, which he did, it being the mana club. Vahai's club gave warning of war planned against Vahai, by moving. The movement was caused by the "mana of the god."

The ceremony of *fanofano* was also performed to transfer the ability 778
to effect a certain cure, which includes not only the prescription, but also the 755
mana to perform it.

GHOSTS AND SOULS

The modern Tongans seem to distinguish between ghosts and souls. 775
Ghosts are called *faahikehe* and more rarely *ata* (shadow); souls are called 774
laumalie for a chief, *mou* for a commoner, and *lakoifie* for the Tamaha, Tui Tonga, and Tui Pelehake.

Baker defines *laumalie* as "spirit, soul, life," and my informants seem 774
to use it in these senses and to regard it as invisible during waking hours,
but as appearing in dreams. According to modern Tongan belief, the *laumalie* 775
is in God's keeping after death and stays in heaven. It may appear to a [787]
relative in a dream and when so appearing is believed to give warning. In [565]
modern Tonga no discrimination is made as to the destiny of souls on the [178]
basis of rank, as Mariner says was done in heathen Tonga.

4

D

The following translation of an old text refers to the destiny of souls 775
in ancient times, but without reference to rank:

> It was said by the people in olden times, that when this body died it [evidently the soul and not the physical body is meant] went at once to Pulotu. When they [the souls] got there, Hikuleo (the ruler of Pulotu) chose some as posts for his fence, and some as supports for the log on which tapa is made, and some were taken as posts for the gate of Hikuleo's fence, etc."

Souls in Pulotu were thought to have earthly appearance though they
are only shadows. The souls or spirits of chiefs (including the Tui Tonga)
were thought to go to Pulotu, identified with the Underworld (Lolofonua)
by some modern Tongans. The soul of a commoner was supposed to appear 775
as an insect on a tapa or mat specially spread after the burial. The tapa 825
was spread in the house where the commoner died and the watchers sat 565
about until an insect appeared thereon, when the mat was carefully folded
and tied near the ceiling of the house and never again examined. This
appearance of the soul of the deceased was called *fakahaele laumalie*. The
souls of chiefs never appeared in insect or other animal form.

Now and then the soul of a very great man might manifest itself 775
through a priest. Ideas about reincarnation of the deceased were rare,
though a story is told of a dying man who told his weeping children that
he would return as a white man to care for them. Another account relates
that a woman's soul, incarnate in a rat, came to visit her child. Another [825]
woman's soul was said to be incarnate in a large lizard (26, p. 108). Normally,
only the gods, and not the souls of men, became incarnate, in animals.
The souls or spirits of men might return to this earth, however, as
indicated in a narrative and poem recorded by Collocott (16, p. 96).

The term for ghosts (*faahikehe*)—also applied to the gods, to the soul, 774
and (or) the spirit—is a generic term for spiritual beings and means literally 775
"different side or different half of anything divided" (in contrast to 776
human beings). Baker defines *faahikehe* as "the name for all the Tonga 196
gods; an evil spirit." One informant likened a *faahikehe* to an image in a
mirror, describing it as something seen but incapable of being grasped. One
informant gave the word *otua* (god) as an occasional term for ghost. The [793]
word *faahikehe* is also applied to the priest, apparently when possessed by [787]
the god. This usage prevailed in Mariner's time (41, vol. 2, p. 80), as well
as to-day.

Some sickness is believed to be due to possession by a ghost. The treatment 775
is to drink an infusion of certain leaves called *lautolu* and to have the 753
infusion massaged on the body as well. When the ghost is thus driven out 787
the patient cries bitterly, "because sorry to part with the ghost." The 755
infusion may be used as a prophylactic against possession. 757

While I was in Tongatabu, a girl, who with others was shellfish gath- 775
ering on a reef, fell down with some sort of seizure. She declared that 787
the ghost of her mother's brother had struck her in the face, an attack
called *ta i faahikehe* (struck by a ghost). It was said that ghosts some- 775
times conversed with living relatives.

An informant of Uiha Island saw near a cemetery the ghost of a man named Nau, wearing a white head cloth and a wreath about the neck. The ghost was walking ahead of the informant, who attributed the apparition to the work of a "bush devil" (presumably Mariner's *otua pauu*, which apparently correspond with the Samoan *aitu*).

Two ghost stories pertaining to ancient persons of high rank follow.

Folokomanu is the name of a grave mound on the outskirts of Pea, Tongatabu, said to be the royal tomb of Fatafehi, the daughter of a Tui Tonga. The royal tomb Loamanu is said to be the burial place of her father and the other members of his family.

The ghost of this woman, Fatafehi, is said to have appeared to several people in modern times. On one occasion two men of Pea were returning home from a sojourn in Mua. On the road, half way home, they met a very beautiful woman, a stranger to them. They marveled that she was dressed as women dressed in olden times. After greeting her they asked her where she was going. She answered, "I have been at Folokomanu and I am going to Loamanu." Then she disappeared. Then they knew that she was not a woman, but the ghost of Fatafehi who is buried in Folokomanu.

On another occasion a Caucasian Methodist minister is said to have been bathing in a cistern (*lèpa*) behind his house, when he saw a beautiful woman sitting close by watching him. Astonished, he reproved her severely for gazing at him while he was undressed for the bath. She answered with dignity that she was not bothering him; she had come there to bathe and was waiting for him to finish. Then he asked her where she lived. She answered that she lived at Folokomanu. A few days later the minister, while talking to King George II, asked him where was situated the village of Folokomanu. The King replied that Folokamanu was not a village, but a royal tomb. Then the minister told his story, upon which the King said, "That was undoubtedly not a woman, but the ghost of Fatafehi who is buried at Folokomanu."

At Longoteme, Tongatabu, stands the stone langi called Loamanu. A Female Tui Tonga is said to be buried there. A few years ago there lived an old man in Longoteme, Fonua by name, whose farm bordered the terrace of the langi. The old man was of an enterprising disposition and resolved to make use of the strip of land lying between the actual boundary line of his tract and the stone terrace of the langi. Therefore, when he planted his yams, he planted some on this virgin territory, an area that had never been so used since the construction of the langi. While he was so engaged, there appeared a beautiful woman standing upon the langi, who spoke to Fonua, saying: "You commoner, you thought to plant your yams on my grave, but you have planted them upon your own grave." Then she disappeared and the old man fell dead where he had been working. His son, coming unawares upon the scene, witnessed the tragedy. It is supposed that the woman was the spirit or ghost of the Female Tui Tonga who is interred there.

In addition to terms for the soul and ghost of a deceased person the 774
Tongans have a term for the double or apparition of a living person, which
appears at a place distant from the person. The term is *tuuola*, analyzed
by one informant as *tuu*, to stand, and *ola*, life.

his head on his left shoulder caught hold of his bamboo pillow with his right hand 774
ready to strike the rat as soon as it came within reach. Slowly, but with a seeming purpose, the rat crept down the post and suddenly with a swing of his pillow Hina's father hit the rat fair and square. He got up to look for it but nothing could be found, not even a blood stain and yet he struck the rat. At the same time the wailing (*tangi*) announcing death arose in the house where Hina's mother was.

"Well, Latu," I asked, "what had the rat to do with it?" He gave me a withering glance of contempt, lit another match, and answered in tense tones. "That rat, Tama, was the spirit of Hina's mother coming to bid her child farewell."

The other day a man called Fine was riding from Pukotala to here (Haano) 775
and just inside this town he had to pass the graveyard known as Hokihoki or Tukia, where his cousin, Tukia, the son of Vake—mentioned elsewhere, lay buried. The pony took a sudden fright at something and started to bolt, with the result that Fine got knocked off and rendered unconscious. His version of the accident is as follows, "I was coming along gently from Pukotala and just as I was passing Hokihoki, Tukia rose up, caught hold of the bridle and dragged the horse along, when suddenly he gave me a blow on the side of my head and I knew no more. I must have done Tukia some injury when he was alive or have spoken evilly of him since he was dead, but I do not remember." The people here firmly believe that Fine was knocked off by ghosts, and in broad daylight too.

In July 1909, William Maealiuaki, Governor of Haapai, was taken sick in Lifuka. The so called medico wasn't sure if it was paralysis or heart disease! But anyhow, one midday the Governor called out that somebody had entered the window and was pulling the mosquito curtain down. His wife rushed into the room, but nobody was there, but standing on the grass plot in front of the house was a man dressed in guardsman's uniform. The figure had its back to the woman and as she moved forward it vanished. Since Maealiuaki's death the natives have it, that evil spirits were the [761]
cause of his death. This same vision also scared a woman who should have gone to the funeral and remained there afterwards with the widow, as is the Tongan custom, but neglected to do so. On the day of the funeral she was surprised to see a man standing at her doorway; half frightened, she closed the door in the intruder's face, only to see it appear immediately at the door on the other side of the house. That decided her, she packed off post haste to the funeral.

When I told the natives in the town of Fakakakai of the Governor's death, they 763
said, "The mist on the water this morning was a sure sign." And so it holds in 821
Tonga: to see a mist on the sea in the early morning forbodes the death of some high chief.

DIVINATION

A number of terms apply to divination. To forewarn, to premonish is 787
talakeikapa. The predicting of future success or failure by appropriate incidents taken as signs is *talotalo*. For instance, a medical practitioner calls to treat a sick boy, finds him asleep. "Oh!" says the practitioner, "his sleeping is my *talo*. I shall cure the boy." The ability to foretell, a sort of inward light, is *kikite*. It differs from mana, but is allied to dreaming (*misi*) in character. Something (a spirit or god, one informant thought) comes to the diviner (*tongafisi*) and tells him what will happen tomorrow

or next week or what is happening at the time in some distant place. Apparently *kikite* also applies to the prophecies by the priest of a god who is believed to enter the priest and speak through his mouth. It applies to the prophetic principle in the omen birds as well. It was said by one informant that the *kikite* "talk" like a skink, that is, that they speak with a sort of squeak or lisp or whisper. One informant stated that *kikite* prophesy, but *tongafisi* tell what is taking place at the present moment at a distant place. 787

The term *tongafisi* refers to both the observation of signs and omens as well as to the interpreters of these. People who did not have a god of whom to make inquiries would seek signs in animal movements, the blood of animals, and the flow of blood from sacrificed finger joints. For no blood to flow from the finger joint was a very bad sign, no doubt for the sick person. Hepatoscopy was apparently not practiced.

One famous *tongafisi* was reputed to be able to determine the approximate location of a vessel at sea by feeling of the water. He would then announce, "Samoa sea," "Niuafoou sea," or whatever it might be. The term *kikite* seems to apply to the ability of the *tongafisi* to predict, as when a blind man informed the king the time at which his pet bird, long overdue from Ata Island, would get back.

The term *tongafisi* was analyzed by one informant as *tonga* (south), *fisi* (to have idea about). If this is the true etymology it possibly refers to the reputed discovery of Ata Island, ninety miles south of Tongatabu, by the famous *tongafisi* Hama, of Eua Island, whose achievements are recorded by Collocott (16, p. 52). Two other achievements of Hama were the reporting to the people of Eua the progress of a club fight in Tongatabu, many miles away; and the reporting to the Tui Haa Takalaua of the daily location of his beloved pet tropic bird, which had strayed away to Samoa, but which returned as Hama predicted.

Modern informants have translated Hama from the realm of mortals 776
to that of the gods, as the following remarks by one of my Lifuka in- 787
formants show:

> The god Haele Feke tried to kill Hama the *tongafisi* of Eua, because Hama had the goddess Tafakula as a friend. Hama was the first *tongafisi* because he informed Tafakula when Samoan gods were trying to steal Kao Island. Hama was a "god and man" (*otua mo tangata*) because he knew everything that would happen. Hama, however, succumbed like ordinary mortals. Everybody made presents to him, because of his wonderful powers.

Discovery of a wrong-doer and thereby often the cause of illness, was made anciently in Tonga through the medium of coconut spinning. This casting of lots was called *taniu*. The following tale about Ofa, the son of the chief Takeleveka of Eua Island, is a good illustration of the method: 787

> Ofa went to Tongatabu, where he lived at or near the residence of the Tui Tonga. A child was born to the Tui Tonga by one of his concubines. After a time the Tui Tonga sailed to Haapai and left the mother and child in the care of Ofa. But Ofa and the woman became too fond, and when the Tui Tonga returned from Haapai, he found the child ill. Recourse was had to spinning a coconut to discover by whose fault the child was sick, and the lot fell on the Tui Tonga and the concubine. On again spinning the coconut between these two, the concubine was indicated. She admitted her intimacy with Ofa. The child recovered and the Tui Tonga said to name him Takeleveka, after Ofa's father. This child, though the son of a Tui Tonga, was adopted as the son of Ofa. 787 [837] [763]

Another good example of divination by coconut spinning is given on page 298.

In the account of Peter Vi (3) concerning the introduction of Christianity into Haapai, the following example of divination is mentioned, as presaging the favorable or unfavorable reception of Christianity by the Haapai chiefs. Peter Vi was proceeding from Tongatabu to Lifuka Island, about 1830, to give Christian instruction and was doing so at the wish of Taufaahau, the Tui Haapai, who later became King George I. "And we cast lots. If we arrived at Haafeva and Haveahikuleo [Tuuhetoka] was sitting with torn mats around his loins as a sign of mourning, we were to know that the chiefs of Haapai were very angry. And when we arrived we saw that Tuuhetoka had mourning mats on." [797]

The following account was furnished by Mr. W. H. Murley:

> In July 1909 a small boy was sitting by himself in a house in Futu in Niuafoou [Futu had been demolished by a hurricane in April, 1909] and a man whom he had not previously seen entered and asked the small youth if he knew the reason of the frequent earthquakes. The boy replied that he did not, that he was yet young and without learning. The man answered, "Then you will know, for in the month of September your people will not be able to sit down to eat, for something dreadful will occur." With that the man turned to go and the boy saw with startled eyes that the man had wings. He walked a little, then lifted himself and flew out of sight. The boy has been most strictly cross-questioned but he still sticks to his original story. As a consequence people are leaving Niuafoou whenever the opportunity occurs. [731]
>
> The island in the middle of the lake has been split in halves through earthquakes. I will leave this space open so that should anything of importance occur in confirmation of the boy's vision or whatever it might be, I will write it down.
>
> In September 1912 volcanoes burst out in Futu in all directions and the aspect in that part has been changed. Nobody was killed and the eruption lasted only a week or so.

OMENS

Many omens require no priest nor diviner for interpretation at the present day, though anciently the priests and diviners may have been consulted about them. The omens include sneezing, the movements of animals, and certain meteorological and celestial phenomena.

If a girl with absent lover sneezes frequently it is a sign she is loved. 787
The girl will say to herself: "He loves me." In addition, if anyone 827
sneezes it is regarded as a sign that someone is talking about the sneezer
or that someone is in love with the sneezer, and a common comment of
bystanders is, "Kuo ofa mai" (there is love for this one). Sneezing at
times presages misfortune. Thus, if a woman making tapa sneezes and [763]
some one is very ill in her family at the time, it is a sign that the sick person
will soon die. Sneezing when asleep is also an omen of death. If the 763
sneezer lies on his right side, the death will be on the father's side of the 787
family, if on his left side on the mother's side of the family, if on his back 827
it is a sign of the sneezer's own death. The evil portent of sneezing on the
eve of an important undertaking is well illustrated by Mariner (41, vol. 1,
p. 440).

Shadows seen in a cave called Anafakaata, at Haasini, Tongatabu, are 787
portentous of either health or death. Upon entering this cave usually a 763
number of shadows of the visitor is seen. If only one or three shadows 822
appear, it is a sign that death is near to the one so shadowed; if two or
four shadows appear, good health is assured. Shadows are not commonly
ominous.

The appearance of an illuminated vessel at night was anciently, and 787
still is, regarded as an omen of the death of a person of rank. Such a 763
ghost vessel is called a *vakaloa*. In the first half of 1921 an illuminated
"steamer" was seen off Lifuka Island a few nights prior to the arrival of
the regular passenger steamer. It is said to have been seen by many people.
It was probably a real steamer, but at any rate a few months later the
ailing wife of the Governor of Haapai died. Mr. W. H. Murley relates
that on the night previous to the death of Maealiuaki, the Governor of
Haapai, a man called Osai and his wife were fishing on the island Uoleva
(the adjoining island south of Lifuka) when suddenly they saw a sailing
boat bearing up from the southeast and lighted with various colors. They
waited to see no more and promptly fled into the bush.

Very loud thunder accompanied by much lightning presages war or other 787
dire disaster. Thunder in December foretells the approach of the *o* fish. 821
Thunder during a heavy windstorm which people apprehend might turn into
a hurricane, is a sign that it will not. The last two statements seem to be
in the nature of empirical observations rather than true omens. There
was said to have been no individual who especially interpreted the thunder
and lightning omens. An old poem refers to "thunder giving omen of war"
and to Toutai (Navigator) Ula's "thunder from the west."

A land fog presages the death of a high chief. Such a fog is said to [763]
have preceded the death of the late king, George II. Murley, quoted above, [622]
mentions an ominous sea fog.

Certain natural phenomena, though not being regarded as ominous, sometimes 787
caused alarm. Earthquakes were believed to be caused by the movements [823]
of one of the Maui who is thought to support the earth. The apparent
movement of the sun to the northern tropic was observed, though not the 821
motive for alarm or ceremony. When the sun was farthest north the season
was called *faahi tau momoko* (cold season). It marked the beginning
of the year and the time of yam planting. When the sun was at the southern
tropic the season was called *faahi tau mafana* (warm season).

An expected eclipse of the moon which occurred in October, 1920, though [787]
causing no alarm, was regarded as indication of strong wind in a few days.
The moon eclipse is called *mate mahina* (death of the moon). Similarly an
eclipse of the sun is called *mate laa*. Apparently the infrequency of sun
eclipses is one reason why they cause alarm. One occurred in 1918 and
was evidently the first seen by many people. Although they had been
forewarned by a visiting astronomer, intense alarm prevailed. The informant
who had never seen one before, and who was in the bush at the time,
ran for his village as fast as possible. He said the ancient belief was that [776]
the sun was a god and was angry with people and showed anger by going
out. Evidently some of this belief still survived in 1918.

The activities of certain birds and lizards were believed to be especially 787
pregnant with indications of forthcoming events. The Tongans, even to-day, 825
take cognizance of these movements to an extent that suggests the Malaysian
observation of animal movements. The gecko (*moko*) is everywhere
in Tonga an omen animal. It is regarded particularly as a barometer of 787
impending weather conditions. If it remains quiet, good weather is indicated, 825
if it is very active, a storm is imminent. This little lizard, sacred 821
to the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, was taken aboard vessels anciently as a
barometer. Another weather indicator is the frigate bird (*lofa*), rare in
Tonga, whose appearance presages a gale or hurricane. The barking of dogs 787
at night without evident cause is a sign of the presence of ghosts. Dogs bore 825
place and personal names anciently and were fondled and talked to by their 231
masters (usually chiefs). There was no belief that it was dangerous to [775]
address conversation to a dog. [521]

Birds played by far the most important part as omen givers. The 787
calling of the owl (*lulu*) immediately after lamplighting is a sign of a 825
pregnant woman in the house, and if the owl calls over a house in the 763
middle of the night, it is a sign of impending death. If the gallinule (*kalae*) [843]
cries close to a house, it is also considered a notification of impending
death. A number of *fuleheu* birds (*Ptilotis carunculata*) flying together in
a particular formation is called *fata* (bier) and is a sign of death. Another
evil omen of the *fuleheu*, called *sipa*, consists in a number of them sounding
the note of alarm. If a cock crows, soon after the time when the fowls

have gone to roost, that is a sign of death, but if another cock answers him, 787
it is all right and nothing will happen. The cocks will crow when they 825
are going to roost, but the ominous crowing is after that, when no sound [763]
is expected from them. Later on again if the cock crows, that is called *uua hausia* (dewy? crowing) and has nothing ominous about it. When a number of fowls make the clucking (?) noise called *kotoko,* passing on from one place to another, the sound being taken up by successive groups of the birds, that is called *kotoko folau,* and is a sign that boats or ships are about to arrive.

There are many omens also connected with the kingfisher (*sikota*). If 787
a kingfisher flies towards a person or flies continually about him, it is 825
bad luck and he should turn back. If it flies in the direction he is going, 777
or across his path, it is good luck. The following incident reported by W. H. Murley is characteristic of Tongan behavior:

> Whilst sitting in the house the other mid-day deep in conversation with a middle-aged Tongan, a young kingfisher (*sikota*) flew into the room, completed a circle of it and disappeared out of the other door, simultaneously with the Tongan's rising and shifting his quarters to the veranda. On my asking the reason of his getting out of the house the Tongan (Latu by name) replied, in most impressive tones "Tama, that is a bird of ill omen and brings spirits with it. Take care that some harm does not befall you ere long." I only laughed and said I didn't believe in such things. "Yes," he went on, "You may laugh but I tell you that evil spirits come with rubbish and lizards and rats, as well as with kingfishers."

The poem by Fusitouone mentions certain evil bird and insect omens 787
in the following terms. 825
538
539

In the morning we go for our walk;
And strikes behind the kingfisher,
And ticks in the day the *pakia* insect,
And squeaks down the evil owl,
And the rail cries on the road;
We two will return accursed.

DREAMS

Dreams (*misi*) seem to have been of little importance in forecasting 787
events. 828

The following scanty, and in part contradictory, data refer to the interpretation of dreams, so far as they bear on the future:

> A dream is often regarded as a warning by a spirit of some impending disaster. Thus, a dream that a person falls overboard and drowns, is likely to come true. The dream, however, may not augur death for the one dreamt about, but for one of his family. [763] To dream of a neighbor's house burning down is believed not only to presage such a burning, but perhaps one or two deaths besides. At times dreams go by opposites. Thus a dream in which one appeared very happy might presage his death. [763]
>
> The kind of dream that comes true is one in which a person (alive or dead) comes and tells the dreamer something that is quite clear and distinct. When one

sees many things in a muddled dream they do not come true. The period that elapses 787
between a dream and its fulfilment is variable—it may be a week or it may be several 828
months.

A sickness called *fafanga*, which is manifested by a "bad stomach" and results in [753]
"doubling up" or even death, is caused by dreaming that a man comes and feeds the dreamer pork, fowl, and other rich food.

A sickness called *takini*, painful urination, is believed to be caused by the frequent [753]
dreaming of sexual intercourse. The belief is that the visitant of the dreamer is a [831]
spirit (*tevolo*). [776]

MAGIC

Most of the extant magical practices are to be found in the formulas 789
of the *faitoo* (doctors). Material presented here includes odds and ends 755
of magical practices not largely concerned with curing. Malevolent magic 754
is still practiced. Spoken words were believed to be effective too. Thus the term *talatukii* means to curse, to use imprecations so deadly and horrible, that the person against whom they were directed usually died from the effect.

Any medicine man or woman was called *faitoo*. The house of a *faitoo* was called 756
falehangatamaki. One informant said that this house was only that of a *faitoo* who treated boils and skin eruptions, and this statement is probably correct, as *hangatamaki* means any sickness or disease appearing upon the surface of the body. When confronted with a sickness about whose diagnosis he was in doubt, a *faitoo* passed his hands over the diseased part, repeating a formula which named every possible disease known and directed the medicine to cure any one or all of them. (See p. 343.)

When collecting the bark of the *tava* and *siale* (*Gardenia*) for medicine the collector always observes which part is towards the setting sun and collects the bark [757]
from that side. It is believed to be particularly efficacious, though no reason was given.

One informant stated that his father had buried his umbilical cord and 789
planted a coconut over it. As the tree flourished, so would the individual. 825
I could get no corroboration of this as a practice. No other account of [846]
tree planting was obtained. Possibly fear that the tree might be killed and the person suffer make people reticent.

The story of the turtle Sangone mentions the magical stopping of growth 789
and retention of childhood by striking a child on the top of the head (26, p. 50).

When a child's milk tooth is extracted it is thrown on the roof of a 789
house, so that the second tooth will grow quickly. At the same time this 856
rhyme is said:

Hinehina matailaila	White with spots	[539]
Omai hoo nifo kovi mooku	Give me your bad tooth	[538]
Kae o atu hoo nifo lelei moou.	But have a good tooth for yourself.	

That there is a ceremonial or lucky number in Tonga I did not definitely 777
ascertain. That there was, or is, such a number seems likely and it may

A woman whose husband had recently died came with her children to a missionary. 753 She said the children were sickly. Consumption appeared the obvious trouble, but she [164] wanted the missionary to pray with them, maintaining that there was a curse somewhere. She had learned from conversation in their village that the children's grandfather had had a pact (held the book, *puke tohi*) with his *tuofefine* (sister or female cousin) and had concluded that this was the reason for all the disaster.

A man had been sick for sometime, and so all his family were cross-examined as to their acts. It developed that one of his sons had gone to Niuafoou some time before [835] with his cousin's wife. He was supposed to look after her on the voyage and performed his duties too tenderly. That was the reason of his father's illness, so it was thought, but whether the son's confession did the old man any good was not learned.

On page 334 I have recounted an incident in which the child of a Tui [837] Tonga became ill because of the intrigue of its mother, while the Tui Tonga was in Haapai. Certain other acts were believed to have serious consequences for one doing them. (See pp. 18, 118, 335, 343, 344.)

Dreams of a certain type are believed to cause certain ailments. (See [828] p. 337.)

To kill the white tern when on a voyage is believed to bring illness. To point at [825] a rainbow, or at the setting sun, is believed to give one elephantiasis in the arm. It is [821] not injurious, however, to look at a rainbow.

If women, bathing in a certain pool or passing near the western cemetery at Maufanga, Tongatabu, saw a gecko, they said that Tui Haa Fakafanua (a god who becomes incarnate in the *gecko*) had entered one of them because he liked her. Pining away and death were the result. Even today, when a girl at Maufanga dies, it is often said that Tui Haa Fakafanua has caused her death. Convent girls from the Hahake district of Tongatabu are said to be particularly liable to such attacks because the Hahake people and the Maufanga people were formerly at enmity. 753 776 787 (761)

Other gods or demons were also believed to enter into living persons and cause illness. To drive out such an unwelcome tenant, the affected [755] part of the body was tightly held and massaged, working the demon to an extremity of the body to force him out, at the same time using magic words.

In November, 1920, there occurred an alleged attack by the spirit of 753 775 a dead man.

A number of girls from the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, were gathering shellfish at Anana, in the lagoon at Tongatabu. One of the girls said that she was attacked by the spirits of three of her deceased relatives, who approached her in a boat while she was standing on the reef. Her symptoms were bleeding from the nose and cramps in the legs, and she declared that her deceased mother's brother, David Alatoa, struck her on the nose. The attack was of course not seen by her companions.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following: 763 775

A man from Vavau, a short time ago, died suddenly in a village called Fakakakai [165] in Haapai from hemorrhage of the lungs. A man from the village came into the store on the day he died and was discussing the matter with a woman from here (Pukotala) in the course of which she said that he (the deceased) might have been struck by evil spirits and then enquired if he had any relatives buried here. The answer was that his mother had died in Fakakakai, on hearing this the woman immediately said, "There, that is the reason of his sudden death."

THE ADVENT OF CHRISTIANITY

Thomson (54, pp. 200-203) has well portrayed the situation in Tonga 797
during the period of the conversion to Christianity. As he points out, [622]
resistance to the spread of Christianity came not from the heathen priests but from the chiefs, who apparently realized that Christianity struck at the root of their time-honored privileges.

I shall not attempt to trace the spread of Christianity but shall merely [128]
refer to certain interesting incidents in connection with its introduction—incidents which to some extent reflect the religious attitude of the Tongans.

As far back as the fifteenth century there is traditional record of skeptic- 771
ism as to the power of the gods. I refer to the tradition concerning the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, who cried, "The gods are fools!" when he was wounded in battle. Mariner dwells upon the skepticism and irreligion of his patron Ulukalala II, who even went so far as to order the priest of his god strangled, but who was prevented from having the execution carried out by his own sudden death, an event which no doubt restored the prestige of the gods in the minds of many Tongans.

Stories are current that certain of the old gods gave oracles concerning 776
the advent of Christianity and the destruction of the old order. At Pea, 787
Tongatabu, it is related that the house of one god miraculously disappeared 797
overnight, because the deity was provoked over the coming of the new religion.

The narrative of Peter Vi (3) refers particularly to the part taken by 797
Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) in the destruction of the heathen 798
places of worship. That he was actuated entirely by Christian motives 669
seems unlikely. In any event, murders and wholesale slaughters of the
heathen were indulged in in the name of Christianity. The fortresses of [727]
Ngeleia and Hule were captured and their inhabitants slaughtered (pp. 215, 216). The events related below refer to the period just before and just after 1830. Taufaahau was then the Tui Haapai. He had not yet succeeded to the rule of Vavau, or to the rule of Tongatabu. About 1829 the following event took place:

> It was said that Taufa, the Tui Nomuka, was coming to Malupo (of Uiha Island) to get reeds for making spears for Tuita and Lolohea. Taufaahau was to be held while they killed the Christians. Taufaahau was informed of this on the day of the feast of the gods called Tautaulotufonua. The feast was held at the gates of the fortress and boxing and wrestling games, etc., were held. [The killing of the Christians was prevented.]
>
> There were many priests and god houses at Haapai, and Taufaahau said to Peter Vi and some others, "Let us go to the priestess of the god house at Holopeka." When we arrived there we found that she had gone to Faleloa. As we went along the road the king rooted up a big banana plant and carried it along. Peter Vi asked: "What is that for?"
>
> Taufaahau replied, "Something to hit the god with."

734 She had just been in the act of picking up a shell or something, as the shot struck her; when she screamed out, and springing two or three feet from the ground, fell into the sea. The people in general were rather glad that she was dead, as she used to break in upon religious ceremonies, and on other occasions, when they were drinking cava, and dance about to the annoyance of every body, sometimes with scarcely any clothes on, which is considered very indecent and disrespectful.

722 All things being now prepared for the invasion
669 [782] of Tonga, the gods were invoked; and the
[787] priests assured Finow of success*. The large
canoes of Lefooga, about fourteen in number,
[716] were then launched, which, with Toobó Nuha's
669 fleet from Vavaoo, made together about fifty
726 sail. Orders were sent by Finow to all the
Hapai islands to make the island of Namooca
the place of general rendezvous. These fifty
sail under the direction of Finow, four of the
largest having each a carronade on board, proceeded
towards the appointed place; but on
account of contrary winds were obliged to put
[714] into Wiha. Here Finow took an opportunity
[177] to review his men, most of them being painted

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* The ceremony of invocation, and the supposed inspiration of the priests, will be described hereafter, at a better opportunity.

727
purpose of procuring reeds to rebuild the 349
fortress of Nioocalofa. This step was taken 712
by the admonition of the gods, who were [787]
consulted on the occasion through the medium
of the priests.

As the invocation of the gods, and inspiration 128
of the priests, are circumstances that will often
occur in the course of this work, it will be well
to take the present opportunity of describing
them.

The night previous to the consultation of the [787
oracle, the chief orders his cooks to kill and pre- 262]
pare a hog, and to procure a basket of yams,
and two bunches of ripe plantains. These 787
things being got ready, the next morning they 793
are carried to the place where the priest resides,
or wherever he may be at that time: the priest
is sometimes previously apprised of the circum-
stance, at other times not. The chiefs and ma- [292
tabooles clothe themselves in mats, and repair 276]
to the place where the priest is to be found: if
it be at a house, the priest seats himself just
within the eaves*; if at a distance, he seats himself on any convenient spot of ground, and the
mataboolès seat themselves on either hand, so
as would form a circle, or rather an ellipsis, if

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* Their houses are built somewhat in form of a shed, [342]
open all round, and the eaves coming within about four feet
of the ground.

793
787 there were not a considerable vacant space left
276 opposite the priest. In this space, at the bot-
[292] tom of the circle, sits the man who prepares the
cava, the root being previously chewed by the
787 cooks, attendants, and others, who sit behind
209 him: behind these again sit the chiefs indiscri-
565 minately among the people. The chiefs take
[276] this retired and humble station on account of
the sacredness of the occasion, conceiving that
such modest demeanour must be acceptable to
the gods.

787 As soon as they are all seated, the priest is
considered as inspired, the god being supposed
793 to exist within him from that moment. He re-
mains for a considerable time in silence, with
his hands clasped before him; his eyes are cast
[565] down, and he rests perfectly still. During the
time that the victuals are being shared out, and
the cava preparing, the matabooles sometimes
begin to consult him; sometimes he answers
them, at other times not; in either case he re-
mains with his eyes cast down. Frequently he
793 will not utter a word till the repast is finished,
787 and the cava too. When he speaks, he ge-
154 nerally begins in a low and very altered tone of
[195] voice, which gradually rises to nearly its natural
pitch, though sometimes a little above it. All
that he says is supposed to be the declaration of
the god, and he accordingly speaks in the first

person as if he were the god. All this is done 787
generally without any apparent inward emotion 154
or outward agitation; but on some occasions 799
his countenance becomes fierce, and, as it were,
inflamed, and his whole frame agitated with inward
feeling; he is seized with an universal
trembling; the perspiration breaks out on his
forehead, and his lips, turning black, are convulsed;
at length, tears start in floods from his
eyes, his breast heaves with great emotion, and
his utterance is choked. These symptoms gradually
subside. Before this paroxysm comes [261]
on, and after it is over, he often eats as much as
four hungry men, under other circumstances,
could devour. The fit being now gone off, he 787
remains for some time calm, and then takes up 799
a club that is placed by him for the purpose,
turns it over and regards it attentively; he then
looks up earnestly, now to the right, now to the
left, and now again at the club; afterwards he
looks up again, and about him in like manner,
and then again fixes his eyes upon his club, and
so on, for several times: at length he suddenly
raises the club, and, after a moment's pause,
strikes the ground, or the adjacent part of the
house, with considerable force: immediately
the god leaves him, and he rises up and retires
to the back of the ring among the people. If 787
the company now wish for any more cava, Fi- 634
554
276

787 now, or the greatest chief present, goes and sits
634 at the head of the ring.

554 It might be supposed that this violent agitation
276 on the part of the priest is merely an assumed
appearance for the purpose of popular
deception; but Mr. Mariner has no reason at
787 all to think so. There can be little doubt, however,
154 but that the priest, on such occasions,
793 often summons into action the deepest feelings
of devotion of which he is susceptible, and by
a voluntary act disposes his mind, as much as
possible, to be powerfully affected: till at length,
what began by volition proceeds by involuntary
effort, and the whole mind and body become
subjected to the overruling emotion. But there
is nothing new in all this: ancient times, as well
as modern, afford numerous instances of this
nature; and savage nations, as well as civilized,
display ample testimony that false religions, and
false notions of religion, act upon some minds
with such extraordinary impulses, that they are
mistaken for divine inspirations.

It happens in the Tonga Islands, that persons,
787 who are not priests, are often visited by the
154 gods, particularly females, but who are never
784 affected in the manner above described: they
are generally low spirited and thoughtful, as if
some heavy misfortune had befallen them, and,
as the symptom increases, they generally shed a

profusion of tears; they sometimes swoon away 787
for a few minutes: the height of the paroxysm 154
generally lasts from a quarter to half an hour. 784
These are also called fits of inspiration, and are
firmly believed to be visitations from some god
who accuses the party of neglect of religious
duty, not by an apparent audible warning, but
by an inward compunction of conscience. But 787
these things are also common enough in all 154
parts of the world, at home as well as abroad.
Some of the natives are such adepts at this sort
of mysterious conversation with the divinities,
that they can bring on a fit of inspiration whenever
they feel their mind at all so disposed.
Mr. Mariner, indeed, did once witness a rare [276]
instance of a man who was disappointed in this
particular: finding himself, as he thought, about
to be inspired, some cava was brought to him
(as is usual on such occasions), but, in a little
while, he was obliged to acknowledge that the
god would not visit; at which all present were
greatly surprised, and so the cava was taken
away again.

These imaginations, however, have sometimes [155]
produced very serious consequences: to give an
instance; on one occasion a certain chief, a [763]
very handsome young man, became inspired,
but did not yet know by whom; on a sudden
he felt himself exceedingly low spirited, and

787 154 755 763 shortly afterwards swooned away; when recovered from this, still finding himself very ill, he was taken to the house of a priest *, who told the sick chief that it was a woman, mentioning her name, who had died two years before, and was now in Bolotoo†, that had inspired him; that she was deeply in love with him, and wished him to die (which event was to happen in a few days,) that she might have him near her: the chief replied that he had seen the figure of a female two or three successive nights in his sleep, and had begun to suspect he was inspired by her, though he could not tell who she was. He died two days afterwards. Mr. Mariner visited the sick chief three or four times, at the house of the priest, and heard the latter foretel his death and the occasion of it.

787 154 Now we are upon this subject it may not be amiss to mention that Finow's son, who at this period of our history was at the Navigator's islands, used to be inspired by the spirit‡ of

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[793] * It is customary to take sick persons to the house of a priest, that the will of the gods may be known. The priest becomes immediately inspired, and remains almost constantly in that state while the sick person is with him. If he does not get better in two or three days he is taken to another priest, &c.

[775] † Bolotoo is the name they give to their paradise, and is supposed to be an island to the north-westward.

[775] [565] [776] ‡ The souls of deceased nobles become gods of the second rank in Bolotoo.

Toogoo Ahoo, the late king of Tonga, who it 787
may be recollected was assassinated by Finow 154
and Toobó Nuha. When this young chief returned to Hapai, Mr. Mariner, who was upon a footing of great friendship with him, one day asked him how he felt himself, when the spirit of Toogoo Ahoo visited him; he replied that he could not well describe his feelings, but the best he could say of it was, that he felt himself all over in a glow of heat and quite restless and uncomfortable, and did not feel his own personal identity as it were, but seemed to have a mind different from his own natural mind, his thoughts wandering upon strange and unusual subjects, although perfectly sensible of surrounding objects. He next asked him how he knew it was the spirit of Toogoo Ahoo? his answer was, "there's a fool! how can I tell you *how* I knew it; I felt and knew it was so by a kind of consciousness; my *mind* told me that it was Toogoo Ahoo." Finow used occa- 634
sionally to be inspired by the ghost of Moomooi, a former king of Tonga.

We must now return to Finow and his army at the island of Pangaimotoo.

A sufficient quantity of reeds and stakes hav- 349
ing been procured, Finow and his army left 712
Pangaimotoo and landed at Nioocalofa, for the 727
purpose of rebuilding the colo (or fortress.) The

hogs, fowls, and cocoa-nuts, so that nobody but 766
great chiefs may use them for food, under pain
of death. This *táboo* lasts about eight months. 784
When Mr. Mariner first arrived at these islands, 262
Tooitonga, the predecessor of the present Tooi- 765
tonga, had just died, and the ceremony of his 643
burial was being performed; though this gen- [565]
tleman had not the opportunity of witnessing
it. All the feasting consequent upon this event
being over, the *táboo* was imposed upon the ar-
ticles above named; and now, after the lapse of
eight months, comes the period to take it off,
and the accomplishment of this constitutes the
ceremony in question. It must be mentioned, [796]
by the way, that two or three plantations are [565]
not subject to this *táboo*, to the end that hogs,
fowls, and cocoa-nuts, may be furnished for oc-
casional religious rites, and for the consumption
of the higher order of chiefs. If the removal of
the *táboo* were not performed in due time, it is
supposed that the Gods would become exceed-
ingly angry, and revenge themselves by the
death of some of their great chiefs.

Finow, as before stated, seeing no appearance 766
of an enemy, and being anxious to return to 765
Hapai for the performance of this ceremony, con- 787
sulted the Gods, and was admonished by them 634
to proceed to the Hapai islands as soon as pos-
sible. With this view, he at first intended to 634
728

ticular request. They brought intelligence that 669
it was not the wish of Toe Oomoo and her [628]
chiefs to be at war with Hapai, but that they
considered it a duty they owed to themselves to act with strong measures in regard to Finow, whom they esteemed of so treacherous a character, that a peace with him now would only be the forerunner of disaster and inglorious death to themselves, and on this account, they chose rather to meet their fate in the field, than to live an idle and peaceful life for a short time, and at length be cruelly murdered to satisfy his revenge.—They moreover stated that it was the determination of the Vavaoo warriors to rush out suddenly upon the white men, and take possession of the guns.

A few days afterwards, all affairs being set- 669
tled in regard to the management of the planta- 726
tions, the canoes were refitted and launched, [701]
and early in the morning the king, and all the
forces with him, (about 4000 strong) proceeded to Haano, about three leagues to the north, to join those who, according to orders, were waiting for them. At Haano, the king was re- 669
ceived with customary feasting and rejoicing, 726
and on the following day the gods were con- 787
sulted in regard to the expedition. The answer 728
was similar to the admonition formerly given, viz. that the king should first proceed to Va-

669 vaoo with three canoes only, with such men as
726 had few or no relations at Vavaoo (lest they
787 should be tempted to desert), but above all with
such also as had not been instrumental in the
728 assassination of Toobó Nuha, nor had been formerly
his adherents, lest their presence might
excite still farther the anger of the Vavaoo
people; and, thus accompanied, should offer
669 terms of peace in the most friendly manner.
728 Finow, having by this time had sufficient opportunity
634 to reflect coolly and deliberately, and
therefore more wisely, upon this business, entered readily into the measure. Three canoes were got ready, and Finow, with some of the choicest fighting men, of such description as the oracle approved of, went on board: Mr. Mariner was in the king's canoe, and two other Englishmen were on board one of the others, and they proceeded towards Vavaoo. As they approached the shores of this island they came up with several canoes belonging to it, endeavouring to make their escape, for they fancied these were only the head canoes of a large fleet drawing near to make an attack upon Vavaoo. The king, however, informed them that he was not coming with warlike intentions, but that his object was peace, and he was paying them a visit for the sole purpose of adjusting matters amicably; he then dis-

CHAPTER VI.

Finow embarks again with all his army for Vavaoo, and arrives at Neafoo—Alarm in the night—Presence of mind in one of Finow's men—Plan of attack—Siege commences—An armistice—Accident to Mr. Mariner, which causes the battle to be renewed—Audacity of a Vavaoo warrior—Finow forbids the guns to be used—Sortie of the enemy—Bravery of Chioolooa—Wonderful escape of Latoo Ila—Conduct of the Hapai women—Finow's army returns to Neafoo, and builds a fortress there—Alarm in the night—Revolt of a young chief to the enemy, and the consequences—Slaughter of the enemy by an ambuscade—Sixty bodies offered to the gods—Cannibalism—Supposed treachery of Lioofau—The king returns thanks to his tutelar god—Hints of his priest—Apprehension and punishment of Mappa Haano—Regulations respecting deserters—Cruelties exercised upon four of the enemy—Desertion of Toobo Boogoo from the enemy—One of Finow's canoes surprised by an attack from Maccapapa at the island of Taoonga—Finow sends out an expedition against Maccapapa's canoes, and takes ten—Attack on the enemy's field of yams.—Mr. Mariner wounded—An attempt to secure the enemy's hogs. 000

The day after the return of the expedition, the 669
gods were invoked in the usual way, and the [187]
oracular answer was, to proceed immediately
to war against Vavaoo. All things being in 669
readiness, the following morning the king em- 726
barked with the whole of his forces, about 5000 [701]
men, besides 1000 women, in fifty large canoes,

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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with the four carronades, ammunition, and every thing necessary for a vigorous attack upon the strong fortress of Vavaoo. Towards evening, the fleet arrived at Fonnooi-fooa (one of the small islands in the neighbourhood of Vavaoo), whence Finow dispatched four canoes, manned with select warriors, up the inlet, towards the fortress, with orders to kill whomsoever they could. They succeeded in killing three men, [787] and severely wounding a fourth, whom, with the three dead bodies, they brought to Finow. Killing these three men, in the first attempt upon the enemy, was by no means to be considered a trifling advantage, for it was supposed to augur the protection of the gods, and great future successes.

Early in the morning, the Hapai fleet proceeded up the inlet to Neafoo (the consecrated spot formerly mentioned), where they landed safely, leaving the women in the canoes. The four carronades were planted opposite the house of a neighbouring malái, ready to be drawn up the following morning to the fortress, which was about three miles off. The day was spent in settling and arranging sundry matters. During the night, which was exceedingly dark, a considerable degree of alarm was excited by two or three of the enemy, who approached, and threw a spear among a number of Finow's of urging any thing against him, and he solemnly declaring his innocence, and stating that his son must have invented this tale to answer some purpose with the enemy; moreover, having always borne a good character and been well beloved by his men, and believed to have been always firmly attached to the interests of Finow, he was set at liberty and restored to his post. 669 687 634

The day after this chief was reinstated, Finow ordered the ceremony of drinking cava to the priest of his tutelar god Toobó Totai, by way of gratitude for the late victory. This ceremony is exactly the same as that of invoking a god through the medium of his priest; and consists merely in the customary form of sitting down to make cava in the presence of a priest, (he presiding at the head of the ring). In this instance, after the cava, pork, &c. had been served out, one of the matabooles, in a few words, thanked the god in the person of the priest for the late signal victories. The priest in answer, after waiting for another dish of cava, declared that Finow would at length succeed in his war against Felletoa, but that this fortress was not the strongest power he had to contend with, for the seeds of insurrection were already sown in his own army, and although Lioofau was perfectly innocent of what had been al- 669 727 276 787 793

669 leged against him, yet there was one at no 727 great distance from him for whom so much 276 could not be said. The god having condescended 787 to declare this, left his priest, and the latter arose and went away; the company then 793 broke up. Finow pretended to take no notice of what the priest declared, not wishing the circumstance to be much noticed by others.

The following day an adopted son of Finow 669 brought him secret intelligence that he had 634 heard that several men had been sent off at dif- 565 ferent times, by Mappa Haano, to the fortress 687 of Felletoa, to concert with the enemy on the 558 subject of revolt, and that this chief had the intention of doing what Lioofau had been un- [292] justly accused of and imprisoned for. The king [301] immediately sent for Mappa Haano, who obeyed the summons, and came drest up in mats, with [576] green leaves round his neck, (marks of humi- [793] liation and fear) attended by a priest. When 669 they arrived opposite Finow's house they sat 634 down before it; then the priest rose and ad- 565 vancing nearer to Finow, who was seated just 687 within the eaves of the house, he again sat 558 down before him, and stated that Mappa Haano 793 had requested his intermediation, to express for him the sentiments of self-accusation with which he felt himself oppressed, and his acknowledgment of the justice of his fate, if Fi-

As soon as he arrived at the fortress, he communicated 669
to Finow what had passed, saying, in 688
his defence, that he was so eager in pursuit, as 727
to be out of all self command. The king immediately
ordered cava to be taken to the priest 669
of his own tutelar god, that the divinity might 688
be consulted as to what atonement was proper 787
to be made for so heinous a sacrilege. The priest
being inspired, made answer, that it was necessary [782]
a child should be strangled to appease [783]
the anger of the gods*. The chiefs, then, held 669
a consultation, and came to the determination
of sacrificing a child of Toobo Toa, by one of 688
his female attendants†. Toobo Toa was present, 782
and gave his consent that his child (about 783
two years old) should be immolated to appease
the anger of the gods, and turn aside their vengeance
for the sacrilegious crime committed.
The child was accordingly sought for; but its
mother, thinking *her* child might be demanded,
had concealed it: being, at length, found by

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[*] This is perfectly consistent with the Tonga custom, whenever the divinities are supposed to be exceedingly offended. It is a piece of superstition far from being uncommon in the history of mankind. Unpleasant truths as well as agreeable ones must be sought out and related, if we wish to arrive at a true knowledge of our own nature.

[†] On such occasions, the child of a male chief is always [565] chosen, as being worthier than others, and a child by an inferior female attendant, because it is not a chief; only those children being chiefs whose mothers are chiefs.

685 matter, and entreat mercy for him at least, if
237 not for herself. The remainder of these teeth
634 were discovered a long time afterwards, by the
422 particular intervention (as the natives will have
565 it) of the gods. A few years had elapsed, when
there being occasion to build and consecrate a
346 house to some god, on the island of Lefooga,
237 it was taken into consideration what valuable
article should be deposited beneath its founda-
tion, according to the custom on such occa-
346 sions. They were about to get ready a large
237 bale of gnatoo for this purpose, when the in-
792 spired priest of the god declared it to be the
787 wish of the divinity to have some whale's teeth;
and that there were several buried together on
the small island just spoken of, in such a parti-
cular spot: which place being referred to and
dug up, the teeth were found in a perfect state.
This discovery was most firmly and most pi-
ously believed to have been made by the sacred
interposition of the god himself, who inspired
his favourite priest with the requisite know-
ledge to make it.

In the Fiji islands, whales' teeth are held, if
171 possible, in still greater estimation, for it would
237 be dangerous there for a man, unless he be a
great chief, and even then, if he were a fo-
reigner, to be known to have a whale's tooth
about him; the personal possession of such a

755 " cent as well as guilty. How canst thou be
782 " merciless! dost thou not see here *Finów*,—
634 " and is not *A'foo* here, who descended from
593 " ancient Tonga chiefs now in Bolótoo;—and
" is not *Fótoo* here, and did he not descend from
" *Moomobé* formerly How of Tonga;—and is
" not *A'lo* here, and *Niucápoo*, and *Toobó!*—then
" why art thou merciless?" (spoken in rather an
impatient and peremptory tone) " have regard
" for Finow, and save the life of his daughter."

Every morning, as before stated, for about a
fortnight, a hog was killed and offered to the
god, and addresses were made similar to the
above, and repeated five, six, or seven times a
day, but the god seemed to hearken not to their
[778] petition, and the child daily got worse. In
about fourteen or sixteen days, finding their
prayers unavailing, they took her to another
fencing in the neighbourhood, consecrated to
Too'i foo'a Bolo'too. Here the same ceremonies
were practised for about a week, with as little
755 good result. Finow, finding his daughter get-
782 ting worse instead of better, ordered his large
634 canoes to be launched, and his wives, chiefs,
599 matabooles, in short his whole household, to go
484 on board. His sick daughter was conveyed
into the canoe which he and his wives occupied,
[793] Mr. Mariner also being on board. They set
sail for the island of Hoonga, which belonged
[787]
[776]

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to a priest called *Toobó Téa*, who was accustomed 755
to be inspired by Finow's tutelar god 782
Toobó Totái. On this island several enclosures 634
or fencings are consecrated to this god: to one 593
of which his daughter was carried, and the same 793
offering and same kind of address was frequently 787
made; but in this case, not before the consecrated 776
house where the sick child lay, but wherever [484
the priest happened to be, which was generally 778
at his own house or at Finow's. It must 565]
here be remarked that those gods who have
priests are invoked in the person of the inspired
priest wherever he may happen to be: those
who have no priest are invoked at the consecrated
house by a mataboole, as was the case in the late
instance with *Tali-y-Toobó*, who has no priest.

Toobó Totái was thus invoked every day, in
the person of his priest, during a fortnight or 787
three weeks. Seated at the head of the cava 793
ring*, he seemed much affected, and generally 755
shed a profusion of tears. To their earnest entreaties 634
he scarcely ever made any answer, and 593
when he did, it was, for the most part, to the [276
following effect; "Why do you weary yourselves 753]
with entreating me?" (speaking as if
he were the god) "if the power to restore the
"woman rested solely with me, I would do it:
"be assured it is all done by the will of the

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* See the form of invocation, p. 99.

787 793 "gods of Bolotoo." Every day he visited the 755 sick girl, occasionally sat down by her, took her 634 hand and shed tears. During this time the ma- 593 tabooles frequently repaired to the house of the [753] priest, and laying cava before him, consulted [565] him privately. On one of these occasions, Fi- [276] now not being present, he told them that if they knew why the child was sick they would not come thus to invoke him: he then declared, in general terms, that it was for the common good. Finow, being informed of this, addressed the priest at the consultation on the following morning, asking him (or rather the god within him) what he meant by the general good? "If "my spirits are oppressed, are not those of all "my subjects so likewise? but if the gods have "any resentment against us, let the whole "weight of vengeance fall on my head: I fear "not their vengeance,—but spare my child; "and I earnestly entreat you, *Toobo Totái*, to "exert all your influence with the other gods, "that I alone may suffer all the punishment "they desire to inflict." To this the god returned no answer, and the priest retiring among the people, the company separated.

634 As soon as Finow arrived at his house, his spirits no doubt much agitated, and his pride, 763 in all probability, much hurt, he laid down on his mat, and felt himself much indisposed. His

illness hourly increased, and feeling, as he said, 634
a secret presentiment of approaching death, his 763
female attendants ran out and informed his chiefs and mataboolcs, who in consequence immediately repaired to his house, and found him unable to speak; for as soon as he saw them he endeavoured in vain to give utterance to his ideas, and seemed choked by the vehemence of his inward emotions. At length a flood of tears coming to his relief, he acknowledged the justice of the gods, but lamented greatly that he was about to meet his death on a bed of sickness instead of going to brave it in the field of battle. After a little pause, he said in a calm but firm tone of voice, "I tremble at the approaching "fate of my country: for I perceive plainly, "that after my death the state of affairs will "be much altered for the worse. I have had "daily proofs that the obedience of my subjects "is not excited by their love but by their "fears."

Several chiefs and matabooles who, owing to 634
the crowd, were not able to get into the house, 763
but overheard what passed, went immediately 761
to the priest of *Toobó Totái*, and presenting 793
him cava root, sat down before him. An old 787
mataboole then addressed him, stating that 776
they had firm belief in the power which the 784
gods possessed of inflicting what punishment 565

634 they chose upon mortals: but he entreated the
763 god to use his influence with the other powers
761 of Bolotoo, that they might not take offence at
793 what Finow had said in the morning, which
was merely spoken on the impulse of the moment,
787 when warmly agitated with sentiments
776 of affection for his daughter, and not from any
784 real disrespect to the gods: he supplicated him
[565] also to have regard to the general good of the
islands, and not by depriving them of Finow,
to involve the whole nation in anarchy and
[821] confusion. The priest remained some time in
silence, and was much affected: at length he announced that the gods of Bolotoo had, for a long time past, debated among themselves with regard to the punishment they should inflict upon Finow, for the many instances he had shewn of disobedience to religious precepts, and of exceeding disrespect for divine power; that they had at first resolved upon his death, but that he (Toobó Totái) having repeatedly interceded in his behalf, some of the other gods also took his part; in consequence of which there arose very violent dissensions in Bolotoo; not, as he explained to them, by actual fighting, for gods are immortal, and can neither be killed, wounded, nor hurt, but by urgent and potent arguments, which had occasioned, he said, the late high winds and tremendous thunder.

der. That they had consequently come to a 634
resolution of saving his life, seeing that his 763
death would be a greater evil to his people than 761
to himself, and of punishing him in another 793
and perhaps more severe way, viz. by the 787
death of his most dear and beloved daughter, 776
who must therefore be inevitably taken from 784
him: for as it had been decreed, beyond all re-
vocation, that either he or his daughter must 634
die, her life could not be saved without taking 763
away his. As a sort of proof of this decree, he 761
bade them remark that whilst Finow was at 793
this time ill, his daughter was much better, and 787
comparatively full of life and spirits, (which 776
was actually the case.) To-morrow, he said, 784
her father would be tolerably well, for the gods 593
had not decreed his immediate death, but only
a temporary illness, to impress on his mind a
sense of their power, and then his daughter
would relapse, and become as bad or worse than
ever.

The priest being now silent, the chiefs and 634
matabooles left him, with a strong belief of the 763
truths he had been telling them. When they 565
arrived at Finow's house they found him some- 793
what better, but did not communicate what 784
they had heard from his priest. This however 593 [276]
was soon rumoured among the other chiefs and [203]
matabooles, in the king's *cook-house*, where

634 they generally resort for cava, and which from
763 custom has become a sort of rendezvous to
565 pick up or retail news. Mr. Mariner, who had
793 been with Finow (his patron, father, and pro-
784 tector,) during his illness, coming to the *cook-*
593 *house* and hearing what the priest had said,
[276] went out of curiosity to Finow's daughter, and
[203] was surprised to find her sitting up, eating ripe
bananas, and in very good spirits, talking at intervals to her female attendants.

634 In the evening Finow, feeling himself for
593 the most part recovered, visited his daughter,
763 and found her much worse than, as he was informed, she had been in the morning. He now expressed his intention of passing the night at her house, which he accordingly did. When he awoke in the morning he felt himself perfectly recovered; but going to his daughter's mat, he found, to his utmost grief, that she was worse than ever. In the course of the morning he went down to the sea-shore, to give some orders respecting an alteration he designed in the sail of his canoe, in which he also employed himself (to distract his thoughts probably) the
634 greater part of the day. At night he again
763 slept at the house of his daughter; and very
793 early the following morning gave orders for all
787 his chiefs, matabooles, and attendants, to go on
776 board his canoes, and gave directions for his
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daughter also to be carried on board; then fol- 634
lowing himself, made sail for the island of 763
Ofoo, with intention of consulting *Alái Váloo*, 793
the tutelar god of his aunt *Toe Oomoo*. They 787 ●
arrived after two hours sail; and immediately, 776
on landing, went and presented cava root to 784
the priest of that god (the name of the priest 593
Mr. Mariner has forgotten). In the mean time [484]
the sick child was taken to the god's conse- [276]
crated house. The company being seated in [778]
the presence of the priest, a bowl of cava was
presented to him,—when the god said—"It is
"in vain that you come here to invoke me
"upon a subject on which you have obtained
"all the information that it is necessary for
"you to know. *Toobó Totái* has already in-
"structed you in the will of the gods, and I
"can communicate nothing farther." The
priest having said this, Finow and his attend-
ants rose up and went their way. In the 593
course of the afternoon the supposed victim of 634
divine vengeance was removed to several other 763
consecrated houses in the same island, and was [778]
suffered to remain about half an hour or an [155]
hour in each, with the hope that she would derive benefit from the auspices of either of the deities, who were imagined to reside in those places. Removal, however, appeared to make her worse; and at length she was almost

764 of respect to the departed chief; and sat on the
ground, waiting for the commencement of the
ceremonies usual on such extraordinary occasions.

634 In the mean time, the prince, and his uncle,
Finow Fiji, prepared cava at a neighbouring
668 house, and presented it there to the priest of
781 *Toobo Totai*, out of respect to that god, who
799 was now become the tutelar deity of the young
[776] prince. By the mouth of his priest the god
desired him not to fear rebellion; for who should
dare to rebel against a chief who was the pecu-
[784] liar care of the powers of Bolotoo? He com-
[761] manded him moreover to reflect on the circum-
stances of his father's death, as a salutary lesson
[763] to himself: "Your father," said the divinity,
"is now no more;—but why did he die?—be-
"cause he was disrespectful to the gods!" The
634 conference here ended. A short time after,
661 the prince, whilst reflecting on the words of the
761 oracle, was addressed by a woman, who was sit-
784 ting behind him in waiting, and who was much
respected by the late king and his family, on
account of her having given him some information respecting a real or supposed conspiracy,
on the part of the Vavaoo chiefs; (Booboono,
Cacahoo, and others, who were seized in consequence at Macave, and afterwards put to death:
see p. 276.) This woman remarked to the prince

634 well what he had to say: persuasion hung upon
157 his lip, and the flow of his eloquence was such,
that many of his enemies were afraid to listen
to him, lest they should be led to view the subject in a light prejudicial to their interests.

Although, in matters of consequence, he always seemed to weigh well what he had to say, in subjects of minor importance he was very quick in reply: his voice was loud, not harsh but mellow, and his pronunciation remarkably distinct. When he laughed, which was not on trifling occasions, it was so loud as to be heard at an incredible distance; and with a very strange noise preceding it, as if he were hallooing after somebody a long way off, and the same kind of noise as he always made when in a passion: and this was peculiar to him. When in his house, however, giving orders about his domestic arrangements, his voice was uncommonly mild, and very low.

In regard to his sentiments of religion and
634 policy, they may be pretty well gathered from
771 sundry passages in the narrative:—with respect
793 to his religion in particular, it is difficult to say
787 whether he had any: it is certain that he dis-
776 believed most of the oracles delivered by the
priests; for although he conceived that they
were really inspired, when they appeared to be
so, yet he thought that frequently a great deal

of what they declared to be the sentiments of 634
the god was their own invention; and this par- 771
ticularly in regard to what did not suit his own 793
sentiments. He never, however, declared his 787
opinion of these things in public; though he
expressed them, very decidedly, to Mr. Mari- 776
ner, and some of his intimate friends. He used
to say that the gods would always favour that
party in war, in which there were the greatest
chiefs and warriors. He did not believe that
the gods paid much attention in other respects
to the affairs of mankind; nor did he think
they could have any reason for doing so,—no
more than man could have any reason or inte-
rest in attending to the affairs of the gods. He 634
believed in the doctrine of a future state, agree- 775
ably to the notions entertained by his country- 565
men; that is, that chiefs and matabooles, hav- 774
ing souls, exist hereafter in Bolotoo, according
to their rank in this world; but that the com-
mon people, having no souls, or those only that
die with their bodies, are without any hope of
a future existence.

Such was the character of the late How of 634
the Tonga islands,—a character not without a
considerable share of merit; in some respects
not unworthy imitation, and in every respect
highly interesting.—We have pourtrayed it at
some length, because such characters do not

who was a party concerned in taking the Port 668
au Prince), was a woman of uncommon penetration 754
and discernment, and, on that account, 634
as well as from the circumstance of her being 837
the daughter of a chief who was a friend of the
late Finow's father, was highly regarded by the
late king, and who attached himself to her so
much, that it is supposed she lived with him as
his mistress during the time that she was actually
the wife of her first husband. She was a
woman extremely religious, and universally respected,
on account of her accurate knowledge
with regard to all religious ceremonies; on which
subject she was frequently consulted by the
chiefs; and, upon political matters, Finow himself
often consulted her, for in this, also, she
stood eminent in the esteem of every one. To 668
Finow she seemed as much attached as he to 754
her; and, after his death, mourned his loss with 634
a sorrow beyond the reach of comfort. She, 837
above all others, was most attentive in decorating 765
with flowers planted by her own hand, and,
with the utmost solicitude, keeping in order the
fytoca where lay the body of her deceased friend.
For the space of six months this faithful mourner
scarcely ever slept but on his grave, watering it
with her tears, and disturbing the silence of the
night with her sighs. One day she went, with 668
the deepest affliction, to the house of Mo-oonga 754
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668 Toobó, the widow of the deceased chief, to
754 communicate what had happened to her at the
634 *fytoca* during several nights, and which caused
887 her the greatest anxiety. She related that she
787 had dreamed that the late How appeared to her,
and, with a countenance full of disappointment, asked, why there yet remained at Vavaoo so many evil-designing persons; for, he declared, that, since he had been at Bolotoo, his spirit had been disturbed by the evil machinations of wicked men conspiring against his son; but he declared that "the youth" should not be molested, nor his power shaken by the spirit of rebellion; that therefore he came to her with a warning voice, to prevent such disastrous con-
[765] sequences. The apparition next desired her to
place in order the pebble-stones upon his grave*,
and pay every attention to the *fytoca;* he then disappeared. This troublesome dream she had
668 had three or four nights successively. Mo-oonga
754 Toobó, upon hearing this account, thought it
634 expedient to search the *fytoca*, to see if the
charm of *tattao** had not been practised in re-

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* It must here be recollected, that mourners were accustomed to smooth the graves of their departed friends, and cover them with black and white pebbles.

† The charm of *tattao* consists in hiding upon the grave,
[565] or in any part of the *fytoca*, some portion of the wearing ap-
parel of an inferior relation of the deceased, in consequence of which that relation will sicken and die; or, it may be bu-

821 such as invasion, death of a great chief, arrival of an European ship, &c. This event therefore 787 produced, as it generally does, considerable [821] anxiety in the minds of the people; and this anxiety was much increased by the dreams of several women. One dreamed that during the time of the *inachi*, Tooitonga, at the head of a number of hotooas, attacked them, and broke to pieces the consecrated yams; another, that she had been at Bolotoo, and heard a decree of Higooleo, (one of the principal hotooas,) that Vavaoo should shortly experience some great calamity, because the people had neglected some particular and important ceremonies. 721 In this state of the public mind, parties were sent to the outer islands to keep a perpetual watch, and to bring immediate intelligence 643 of any canoe that might appear. In the course of a little time it was remarked that Tooitonga 763 decreased considerably in size, losing flesh every day, although otherwise in good health; it was not long, however, before he began to complain of weakness and loss of appetite. His illness beginning thus to be confirmed, occasioned his relations and attendants to have recourse to the usual ceremonies on such melancholy occasions. 643 Accordingly every day one 763 or other of his young relations had a little 782 finger cut off, as a propitiatory offering to the

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belong to one or other of these classes, would 565
be a task very difficult to execute, and perhaps 554
impossible in respect to the people of these
islands; at least, not without making numerous
exceptions and explanations, which would only
be the means of rendering the description both
tedious and complicate. For one and the same [793]
individual, (a priest,) who to-day is held in [787]
scarcely any estimation, may to-morrow, (under
the influence of the inspiration of some god,)
take place of every body present, seat himself
at the head of the cava ring, be respected as
the god himself, and his discourse attentively
listened to as oracular. Again,—the king him- [634]
self, whom one might suppose to be the greatest
person in the country, (and in fact he has the
greatest power,) is by no means the highest
noble, but must yield in point of rank to many
others. In this order of things, therefore, we 128
shall first speak of those persons to whom rank
and respect is yielded, on the score of religious
circumstances; and these are Tooitonga, Veachi,
and the priests.

We here speak of Tooitonga as if actually 643
existing in his full rank, with all the public
honours of religious estimation; but it will be
recollected, that before Mr. Mariner's departure
from Vavaoo the king had done away entirely
with all the ceremonies formerly considered

565 VEACHI', as mentioned before, is another
Egi of divine original, but far from being equal
[634] to Tooitonga. The king, indeed, avoids his
[576] presence, the same as he would that of Tooitonga,
and always pays him the usual obeisance
[796] when he happens to meet him: but he has no
peculiar marks of high respect shewn to him, as
are shewn to Tooitonga; that is to say, no ceremonies
that are, in themselves, peculiar and
different from what are shewn to other chiefs
[776] by their inferiors. There is this one universal
acknowledgment, however, viz. that he is a
great chief descended from a god, that he is
next in rank to Tooitonga, and superior to
every other chief. His name has no known literal
meaning that Mr. Mariner can discover.

793 PRIESTS or FAHE-GEHE. The term *fahe-gehe*
means split off, separate, or distinct from, and is
787 applied to signify a priest, or man, who has a
555 peculiar or distinct sort of mind or soul, differing
from that of the generality of mankind,
which disposes some god occasionally to inspire
[576] him. These inspirations, of which an account
[634] has been given vol. i. p. 100, frequently happen,
and on such occasions the priest has the same
[565] deference and respect shewn to him as if he
[643] were the god himself; if the king happen to be
[776] present, he retires to a respectful distance, and
sits down among the body of the spectators, so

would Veachi, and so would even the high di- 793
vine chief Tooitonga, because a god is believed 787
to exist at that moment in the priest, and to speak 555
from his mouth: but at other times a priest has 565
no other respect paid to him than what his 776
own proper family rank may require. They ge- [576
nerally belong to the lower order of chiefs, or to 634
the matabooles, though sometimes great chiefs 643]
are thus visited by the gods, and the king himself has been inspired by Tali-y-toobo, the chief of the gods. During the time a priest is inspired he is looked on with more or less veneration, according to the rank of the god that inspires him. But more upon this subject under the head of religion.

The civil ranks of society may be thus di- 565
vided; HOW, or KING; EGI, or NOBLES; MATABOOLES; MOOAS, and TOOAS.

The HOW, or KING,[A] is an arbitrary monarch, 643
deriving his right to the throne partly from he- 634
reditary succession, and partly from military power, which latter he is occasionally obliged to exert to secure himself in the former. His power and influence over the minds of the people is derived from the following circumstances; viz. hereditary right; supposed protection of the gods, if he be the lawful heir; his reputation as a warrior; the nobility of his descent; and lastly, but not least, the strength

A [Mariner is here describing the office held by Finow who Mariner mistakenly thought was the Tui Kanokupolu. Finow was only a militarily powerful island governor--Analyst]

8. That all *egi* or nobles have souls, which exist 771
hereafter in Bolotoo, not according to their 775
moral merit, but their rank in this world, 565
and then they have power similar to the original gods, but less. The matabooles also go to Bolotoo after death, where they exist as matabooles or ministers to the gods, but they have not the power of inspiring priests: the mooas, according to the belief of some, also go to Bolotoo, but this is a matter of great doubt. But the tooas, or lower class of people, have no souls, or such only as dissolve with the body after death, which consequently ends their sentient existence.

9. That the human soul during life is not a distinct 771
essence from the body, but only the 774
more etherial part of it, and which exists in 775
Bolotoo, in the form and likeness of the body, the moment after death.

10. That the primitive gods and deceased nobles 771
sometimes appear (visibly) to mankind, 776
to warn or to afford comfort and advice: that 787
the primitive gods also sometimes come into 825
the living bodies of lizards, porpoises, and a species of water snake, hence these animals are much respected; their coming into porpoises is supposed to be for the purpose of taking care of vessels, &c.

11. That the two personages at the Tonga 771
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771 islands known by the name of Tooitonga and
776 Veachi are descendants in a right line from
643 two chief gods, and that all respect and veneration is therefore due to them.

565 12. That some persons are favoured with the
771 inspiration of the gods, by an actual existence
793 of the god for the time being, in the person
787 (the priest) so inspired, who is then capable of prophesying.

771 13. That human merit or virtue consists chiefly
577 in paying respect to the gods, nobles, and aged persons; in defending one's hereditary rights; honour, justice, patriotism, friendship, meekness, modesty, fidelity of married women, parental and filial love, observance of all religious ceremonies, patience in suffering, forbearance of temper, &c.

[784] 14. That all rewards for virtue or punishments for vice happen to men in this world only, and come immediately from the gods.

771 15. That several acts acknowledged by all ci-
673 vilized nations as crimes, are under many circumstances considered by them as matters of indifference, such as revenge, killing a servant who has given provocation, or any body else, provided it be not a very superior chief or noble; rape, provided it be not upon a married woman, or one to whom respect is due, on the score of superior rank, from the

perpetrator; theft, except it be consecrated 771 property. 673

16. Omens are considered direct indications of the gods to mankind: 787 charms or superstitious ceremonies 789 to bring evil upon any one are considered for the most part infallible, as being generally effective means to dispose the gods to accord with the curse or evil wish of the malevolent invoker; to perform these charms is considered cowardly and unmanly, but does not constitute a crime.

The Tonga people universally and positively 772 believe in the existence of a large island, lying 775 at a considerable distance to the north-westward of their own islands, which they consider to be the place of residence of their gods, and of the souls of their nobles and matabooles. This 824 island is supposed to be much larger than all 825 their own islands put together, to be well stocked with all kinds of useful and ornamental plants, always in a state of high perfection, and always bearing the richest fruits and the most beautiful flowers according to their respective natures; that when these fruits or flowers are plucked, others immediately occupy their place, and that the whole atmosphere is filled with the most delightful fragrance that the imagination can conceive, proceeding from these immortal plants;

them in good order, decorating their inclosures 776
with flowers, &c. About twenty of the gods 346
have houses thus consecrated to them, some 778
having five or six, others one or two. The following
are the names and attributes of the principal 776
gods.

TA'LI-Y-TOOBO'; (the literal meaning of this
name, from which nothing can be deduced, is
Wait there, Toobo!) He is the patron of the How [643]
and his family, not of Finow in particular, who [634]
is the present king, but of any one who may be
king. He is also god of war, and is consequently
always invoked in time of war by the How's
party: in time of peace he is also occasionally
invoked for the general good of the nation, as
well as for the particular interest and welfare
of the How's family. He has four houses de- [346]
dicated to him in the island of Vavaoo; two at
the small island of Lefooga, one at Haano, one
at Wiha, and two or three others of smaller im-
portance elsewhere. He has no priest, unless [793]
it be the How himself, whom he sometimes in- [643]
spires: but it has happened that a How, during [634]
his whole reign, has not been inspired. [787]

TOO'I FOOA BOLO'TOO; the literal meaning of this is, "*Chief of all Bolotoo*;" from this name one would suppose him to be the greatest god in Bolotoo, but he is inferior to the one before mentioned; how he came by this name the na-

776 tives themselves can give no account; the only
answer they make is, that such is his proper
name. Although he is the god of Bolotoo, he
is inferior to Tali y Toobo, insomuch that they
scarcely make a comparison between them; if
you ask them whether Tooi fooa Bolotoo is a
great god, they will answer, "Yes, he is a very
"great god." "Is Tali y Toobo a greater
"god?" "Yes, much greater." "How great,
"then, is Tali y Toobo?" "He is a great
"chief, from the top of the sky down to the
[565] "bottom of the earth!" He[A] is also the god of
rank in society, and in this quality he is often
[782] invoked by the heads of great families, as the
king, and other great nobles, on occasion of
[778] sickness, or other family troubles. He has
several houses dedicated to him; three or four
at Vavaoo, one at Lefooga, and a few at other
[793] islands. He has three or four priests, whom
he occasionally inspires; at least Mr. Mariner
[787] is acquainted with three or four, but perhaps
there are others.

Higoolе'o (no literal meaning that we can
[643] discover, unless *igoo leo*, to guard the tail); a
very high god, regarded principally by Tooi-
[793] tonga's family. He has no priest, nor any
house, and is supposed never to come to Tonga.
[778] The natives are uncertain about his attributes.

[634] Toobo Toty, literally, *Toobo the mariner.*

A [the god Too'i fooa Bolo'too--Analyst]

He is the patron of Finow's family, also the god 776
of voyages: in the first quality he is often in- [634]
voked by Finow; in the second quality he is
often invoked by chiefs, going upon any mari-
time expedition; also by any body in a canoe
during a voyage. He is not the god of wind, [778]
but is supposed to have great inflence with that
god; his chief power is extended to the pre-
servation of canoes from accidents: this god
has several houses dedicated to him, chiefly at
Vavaoo and the contiguous isles. Mr. Mariner [793]
only knew one priest belonging to him, but he,
perhaps, has several. It will be recollected, in 634
the former part of the history, at the time when
Finow's daughter was so ill, that this priest, 793
when inspired, foretold that either Finow or his 787
daughter must die, as decreed in Bolotoo: in 763
consequence, Finow, after his daughter's death, 661
was so exasperated with his god, Toobo Toty', 784
for not making arrangements among the gods
more favourable to him, that he vowed to kill
his priest: this sacrilegious intention was, how-
ever, prevented by his own death, which hap-
pened as a judgment on him, according to the
people's notions. Vide vol. 1.^A

Ala'i Va'loo; (*Alai*, no discoverable mean- 776
ing; *Valoo*, the number eight); a god that pa-
tronizes the How's family, but is particularly 634
the patron god of Tóe Oomoo, the late king's
aunt. This god is now and then invoked by

A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 350-378--Analyst]

776 the king's family, but very frequently by Tóe
[634] Oomoo. He^A has a large consecrated fencing
at Ofoo, one of the islands in the vicinity of
[778] Vavaoo: he has, at least, one priest, and is
[793] very frequently consulted in behalf of sick persons.
[787]

[755] A'LO A'LO; literally, *to fan.* God of wind
and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in
776 general. This god is generally invoked about
once a month, if the weather is seasonable, that
821 it may remain so; if the weather is unseasonable,
or destructive on shore by excessive wind
or rain, he is invoked every day. A'lo A'lo is
not the god of thunder and lightning, of which,
indeed, there is no god acknowledged among
them, as this phenomenon is never recollected
to have done any mischief of consequence. In
boisterous weather at sea, the superior god
Toobo Toty', the protector of canoes, and other
sea gods, are always invoked in place of A'lo
776 A'lo. About the time when the yams are full
796 grown (near the latter end of December), the
ceremony of *tow tow* begins, consisting in an
241 offering of yams, and other provisions, to the
god A'lo A'lo. This ceremony is repeated every
ten days, for eight times successively, as will be
described under the head of religious rites.
776 This god has only two houses dedicated to him,
778 one at Vavaoo, and the other at Lefooga: he
793 has also two priests, one at each place.

A [the god Ala'i Va'loo--Analyst]

Too'i Bolo'too; literally, *chief of Bolotoo.* 776
This and the three following gods are all minor [823]
gods of the sea and of voyages, and protectors [734]
of Finow's family. Notwithstanding his name,
he is inferior to all the gods mentioned before
him; but much upon an equality with the three
following. He has two houses dedicated to him [778]
at Vavaoo, and one at Lefooga; none elsewhere [793]
that Mr. Mariner knew of: he has, perhaps,
two or three priests.

Ha'la A'pi A'pi; literally, *a road crowded.*
He has the same attributes as Tooi Bolotoo.
Mr. Mariner knows of no house dedicated to [778]
him. He has one priest. [793]

To'gi Oocumme'a; literally, *an iron axe.* The same attributes as the above.

Toobo' Boo'goo; literally, *Toobo the Short.* The same attributes as the above.

Tangalo'a; god of artificers and the arts: [778]
doubtful if he has any house dedicated to him: [793]
has several priests, who are all carpenters. It [322]
was this god that brought the Tonga islands [773]
from the bottom of the sea, whilst fishing.

Such are the names and attributes of the chief primitive gods; next to those in rank and power come the souls of nobles.

Souls of Egies, or Nobles: of these there 775
must be a vast number. Their attributes are 769
similar to those of the primitive chief gods: [787]

775 they have the power of inspiring priests, and of
769 appearing in dreams and visions to their relatives
[781] and others. They have no houses dedicated
to them, but the proper places to invoke
[778] them are their graves, which are considered
sacred, and are therefore as much respected as
775 consecrated houses. Their names are the same
as they had whilst living, and they hold the
776 same rank mutually among themselves as they
[784] held during their mortal existence; and whether
their deeds were good or evil during their life,
is a circumstance that does not at all affect their
state in Bolotoo, all punishments for crimes
being supposed to be inflicted by the primitive
gods upon men during their lifetime; in which
inflictions the second class of gods have a proportional
[821] power with the first. As many of
these souls of nobles have had strong warlike
dispositions in this world, it might be supposed
that they waged war against one another in
Bolotoo; but this is not the case, for, in that
state of existence, their understanding is much
more clear than in this world, enabling them to
discern what is right, and disposing them to
choose it in preference to what is wrong: not
but what they, and even the primitive gods,
have verbal disputes, but which, from the clearness
of their intellect, and the justice of their
views, are supposed to be managed with divine

temperance; but as the temperate discussion of 775
gods may appear awful violence to weak-minded 776
man, so it is not to be wondered that such disputes 821
at Bolotoo should produce thunder and lightning at Tonga; as happened in the discussion among the gods respecting the fate of Finow and his daughter. (Vide vol. 1[A])

The Souls of Matabooles come next: of 775
these little need be said; they hold the same
name and rank as during their life. They have 787
not the power of inspiring priests; they cannot 782
punish nor reward mankind, at least by any direct 769
influence; though their friends and relatives sometimes beg their intercession with the higher gods, in behalf of their health, or
prosperity, &c. They have no houses dedicated 778
to them; they sometimes appear to their friends.
Some of them are tutelar gods, and protectors of the *tooas*, or lower orders, which they are, as it were, by permission.

The Attendants, or Servants of the Primitive Gods. 776
These, like the gods to whom they belong, are original inhabitants of Bolotoo. They are considered of less quality than the souls of matabooles. They have no power in Tonga, and if they go there they cannot manifest themselves. Their number is supposed to be immense.

The Hotooa Pow, or mischievous Gods.—

A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 350-378--Analyst]

776 Of these there are perhaps several in number,
but only five or six are supposed to be parti-
cularly active; and from their disposition to
plague mankind, they reside more frequently at
[171] Tonga than at Bolotoo. They are accused of
being the cause of all the petty inconveniences
and troubles of life: and at Hamóa (or the Na-
vigator's islands), they have an idea which is
very convenient to the reputation of the fe-
males, that some of these *hotooa pow* molest
them in their sleep, in consequence of which
there are many supernatural conceptions: at
Tonga, however, the matter is never carried to
[793] that extent. These *hotooa pow* have no priests,
[778] have no houses dedicated to them, nor are they
ever invoked. All the great misfortunes of life,
[782] as before noticed, are special inflictions from
[784] the gods for the crimes of men: whereas the
[828] mischievous tricks played by the *hotooa pow* are
for their own whim and delight; they lead tra-
vellers astray, trip them up, pinch them, jump
upon their backs in the dark, cause the night-
mare and frightful dreams. They are never
seen.

[823] Móooi—A god that supports the earth, the
earth lying on him, he being prostrate. This,
as may be supposed, is a very gigantic being,
greater in personal bulk than any of the others.
[787] He never inspires any body, nor ever leaves

his situation. He has no house dedicated to 776
him. When an earthquake happens, it is supposed
that this god, feeling himself in an uneasy [787]
posture, is endeavouring to turn himself [778]
about; and, on such occasions, the people give [823]
loud shouts and beat the ground with sticks,
which is supposed to have the effect of making
him lie still. They have no idea of what he
lies on, nor ever make any enquiries about it;
and say it would be folly to do so, for who can
go there and see?

Such is the account they give of their gods, 565 761
and the respect which they pay to these imaginary
beings is so great and so universal, that [771]
scarcely any instance is known of downright [784]
impiety; and indeed they have very strong motives [753]
to keep them in proper order in this respect, [763]
founded in their firm and fixed belief,
that all human miseries are the consequent punishment
of crimes, and that acts of atrocity
are most frequently punished by disease and
death; and this risk of premature death among
the tooas in particular must have a frightful aspect,
as they consider the termination of life as
the termination of their existence altogether.
With respect to the chiefs indeed, to whom
death is only a change to a better life, this apprehension
may not take quite so strong a hold;
nevertheless, life is always sweet, there are al-

CHAPTER XIX.

000 **Farther particulars respecting the divine chiefs Tooitonga and Veachi: respecting the priests—General remarks on the moral notions and habits of the people—The first principles which in them constitute the foundation of virtue—References to Toobo Nuha, Hala A'pi A'pi, and others—Farther habits of practical liberality—The principle of respect and veneration to the gods, chiefs, parents, and aged persons—Defence of hereditary rights, and love of country—Instances of the principle of honour: instances of the contrary: remarks: conclusions—Their liberal opinions of one another, and of European nations, with references—Humanity—General observations on the virtue of chastity—Investigation of the proportion of married women—Conduct of the married women—Conduct of the unmarried women: of the married men: of the unmarried men—General view of society, as far as their notions respecting chastity are concerned—Conclusions upon this subject—Remarks.**

643 THE two divine personages, viz. Tooitonga
565 and Veachi, or those who are supposed to be peculiarly of high divine origin, have already been spoken of as far as their rank is concerned. [787] In respect to their habits, we might very naturally imagine that, in consequence of their high rank as divine chiefs, they would very frequently be inspired by the gods, and become the oracles of the divine will; but this,

as far as Mr. Mariner has seen and heard, has 643
never been the case; and it seems strange that 565
the favour of divine inspiration should be par- [787]
ticularly bestowed upon men seldom higher in
rank than matabooles: such, however, is the
case, and, to reconcile it with propriety, we may
suppose that Tooitonga and Veachi are supposed
to be of too high a rank to be the mere servants
of the gods, and mere instruments of communi-
cation between them and mankind, but rather
as the highest and most worthy of mankind, and
next to the gods in rank and dignity. These [178]
two persons, however high in rank, have very
little comparative power, though it is suspected
that, formerly, when the Tonga people were a
peaceable nation, and more attention was paid
to religious rites and institutions, that they had
a vast deal more influence than they have had
of late years. They now very seldom meddle 643
with political matters, though Mr. Mariner once 634
witnessed an instance where Tooitonga ventured 669
to advise Finow (the late king) respecting his [203]
warlike proceedings against Vavaoo, at the time
when his aunt, Toe Oomoo, revolted; for this
purpose he went into the house on a *malái*, and
sent a messenger to the king to say that he was
there; which is a polite mode of telling a person
you want him to come, that you may speak to
him. He did not go to the king's house in [565] [784]

643 people from a vast burden of taxes, by annulling
634 the title of Tooitonga, and the expensive
651 ceremony of *Inachi*, with a view, also, (as the
628 reader will recollect) to do away with the necessity
of any communication with the Hapai
565 people. Veachi, being a sensible, good, quiet
644 sort of man, who interfered in no public matters,
and who had nothing to do with the people
of other islands but his own, (Toongooa,) was
still suffered to retain his dignity, and probably
does to this day; and, in that case, is the greatest
chief at the Tonga islands, for the late Tooitonga's
son, if he have not been since made a
178 Tooitonga, is below Veachi in rank. Thus it
628 appears that the Tonga islands are undergoing
a considerable change, both in respect to religion
and politics; and if the communication
between Vavaoo and the Hapai islands, and
between both places and Tonga, should remain
closed for a number of years, it would be a curious
inquiry, to investigate what changes the
language will undergo in those respective places.

793 In regard to the priests, their habits are precisely
the same as other persons of the same
565 rank; and, when they are not inspired, all the
respect that is paid to them is that only which
[634] is due to their private rank. Mr. Mariner recollects
[787] no chief that was a priest: he has,
indeed, seen the king inspired by Taly-y-Toobo

(who never inspires any body but the king,) 793
but he is not strictly considered a priest on this [565]
account; those only, in general, being considered [634]
priests, who are in the frequent habit of [787]
being inspired by some particular god. It most frequently happens that the eldest son of a priest, after his father's death, becomes a priest of the same god who inspired his father. The 793
general circumstances of fits of inspiration have 787
been already noticed (vol. i. p. 100). When a priest is inspired, he is thought capable of prophesying, or, rather, the god within him is said sometimes to prophesy; these prophecies generally come true, for they are mostly made on the probable side of a question, and when they do not come to pass as expected, the priest is not blamed, but it is supposed the gods for some wise purpose have deceived them; or that the gods, for ought they know, have since changed their mind, and ordered matters otherwise; or that the god who inspired the priest spoke prematurely, without consulting the other gods.

At the Sandwich islands the priests appear to [171]
be a distinct order or body of men, living for [554]
the most part together, holding occasional conferences, and at all times respected by the body of the people; whereas, at the Tonga islands the priests live indiscriminately with the rest of the natives, are not respected on the score of

793 their being priests, unless when actually inspired,
[787] and hold no known conferences together,
as an allied body. Mr. Mariner frequently as-
171 sociated with them, knew their general conduct,
[554] and inquired the opinion of all classes of the
[727] natives respecting them; and, after all, has no
[124] reason to think that they combine together for
the purpose of deceiving the people. He found
nothing that he conceived very remarkable in
their general character: if there was any difference
between them and the rest of the natives,
it was that they were *rather* more given
to reflection, and somewhat more taciturn, and
probably greater observers of what was going
[292] forward. They have no peculiarity of dress to
distinguish them. The most remarkable of their
793 prophecies, if they deserve that name, are those
787 mentioned vol. i. on the occasion of a young
chief being inspired by a female spirit from Bolotoo;
and on that of the illness of Finow and
his daughter, when one became better the other
793 became worse, as the priest foretold. The priests
565 associate with the chiefs as much as other matabooles
643 and mooas; and, although Tooitonga
and Veachi are considered divine chiefs, still
they have no more to do with the priests, nor
are they any otherwise connected with them,
nor related to them, than are other chiefs.

128 Having thus far given a general view of the

771 mark of such sentiments is shewn to the gods,
to chiefs, and aged persons. Actual impiety is
[888 little known among them: Finow (the late
565] king) was, indeed, an impious character in
771 many respects, but we have already seen how
634 much the people wondered at his success. The
same king was one day prevented from going
[827 out upon an expedition against the enemy, by
787] one of his chiefs happening to sneeze, which is
considered a bad omen. Finow, on a sudden,
greatly exasperated, with raised arms, and
clenched fists, exclaimed, in a loud voice,
" Crowd, all ye gods, to the protection of these
" people, nevertheless I will wreak my ven-
" geance on them tenfold!" But this impious
exclamation was heard with horror by every
576 body. There is no necessity to dwell upon the
565 respect that is universally paid to chiefs, for it
784 forms the stable basis of their government;
and, of course, cannot be allowed to be in-
fringed upon: it is, in short, a superior sacred
duty, the non-fulfilment of which it is supposed
the gods would punish almost as severely as
888 disrespect to themselves. The great veneration
577 which they pay to aged persons is a very amiable
trait in their character; and, though it is now
kept up by old habit and custom, it must, no
doubt, have arisen in the beginning from notions
which would do honour to the most civilized

276 ther more. No chief comes to an inferior
574 chief's cava party, or, if any extraordinary cir-
565 cumstance was to make this necessary, the in-
ferior would be obliged to retire to his own ex-
276 terior circle, and the superior visitor would pre-
574 side: for the greatest chief present must always
565 preside, unless there be an inspired priest, then
576 *he* sits at the head of the circle, and the greatest
[793] chief in company, who would otherwise have
[787] that honourable situation, now retires, with
other chiefs, to the exterior circle, not out of
respect to the priest, who may be only a mooa,
but out of veneration to the god supposed to
exist within him; so that the superior circle, in
such a case, consists principally of matabooles
and mooas; for chiefs may be looked upon as
distant relations to the gods, and no person
may sit in the upper circle along with his supe-
rior relation; besides it is an act of humility
[796] demonstrating great respect. When a priest
presides, which is the case at all religious ce-
remonies, except where they are consulting
a god who has no priest[*], the latter always

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[776] [*] When a god has no priest, as Tali-y-Toobó, for instance,
no person actually presides at the head of his cava circle, the
place being left apparently vacant, but which, it is supposed,
[778] the god invisibly occupies. On such occasions the cava
party is always held before the house consecrated to the god:
(as in the commencement of the illness of Finow's daughter.)
And they go through the usual form of words, as if the first

651 (chiefs, matabooles, &c.) are at the expense of
796 it; yet as there is much more provided than
574 what is eaten, it helps to increase the scarcity
if the season should not be abundant: but it is
so much the custom at Tonga to make liberal
and profuse presents, that the people generally
either feast or starve. Sometimes it happens
that several great feasts are given nearly about
the same time; as for instance, the occasion of
the Inachi; the arrival of some chief from a
distant island, after a long absence; the marriage
or death of some great chief, as of Tooitonga
[261] himself, &c. These feasts threaten a
[784] scarcity; to prevent which, a *ta'boo* or prohibition
is put upon several kinds of food, that they
may not be eaten for a certain length of time,
at the termination of which they perform the
following ceremony, which takes off the *taboo*:
a famine or war may also occasion a necessity
for this *ta'boo* to be imposed.

796 FUCCALAHI, i. e. to make all at large or free
again; or to take off a restriction. As the mode
796 of performing this ceremony has already been
276 described, (see Vol. I. p. 120.) and the particular
objects of it mentioned, (p. 113, same
vol.) nothing farther need now be said upon
the subject, except that it is generally concluded
[574] with a cava party.

[793] [787] CAVA FUCCA EGI: this consists in a cava

party, where an inspired priest sits at the head; 796
the circumstances of inspiration we have already 276
related, (Vol. I. p. 99.) and the form of serving [574]
out the cava when a priest presides, (Vol. II. [793]
p. 194.) The phrase *cava fucca egi* means literally, [787]
a god-like cava. Laying a small piece of
cava root before the grave of a chief or consecrated [769]
house, out of respect to a god, or to a
deceased relation, is called *toogoo cava*, and will
be mentioned in its proper order.

Tow-tow is an offering of yams, cocoa-nuts, 796
and other vegetable productions to A'lo A'lo 782
(the god of weather) in particular, and to all
the gods in general, for the purpose of ensuring [821]
a continuation of favourable weather, and consequent [776]
fertility. This ceremony is first performed at the time when the yams are approaching maturity, in the early part of November, and is repeated every ten days for seven or eight times. On the day appointed by the priest of A'lo A'lo, every plantation on the three parts of the island, viz. the *hahagi*, *mooa*, and *hihifo*[*] districts provide a certain quantity of yams, cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, bananas, plantains, &c. all which are brought to the *malái*, tied upon sticks, so that each stick, when held horizontally, has

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[*] *Hahagi* is the north end of any island; *hihifo* the south [823]
end: the *mooa* part of the island being the centre. [192]
[103]

784 or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other
643 chief can relieve him from his *taboo*, because no
415 chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the
778 inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing), belonging to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead of his feet. In Mr. Mariner's time, Tooitonga always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by Captain Cook.
784 Véachi usually adopted a similar plan. Cava,
276 either the root or the infusion, cannot be tabooed by the touch of any chief of what rank soever; so that a common *tooa* may chew cava which even Tooitonga has touched.

TOOGOO CA'VA. This ceremony consists in
796 merely leaving a small piece of cava root before
782 a consecrated house or grave, out of respect to
276 a god, or to the departed spirit of a chief or re-
788 lation, at the same time the ceremony of *toogi* or beating the cheeks is performed, as related (Vol. I. p. 89.) The *toogi*, which is performed at burials, is of a more serious nature.

LOTOO is the term used for praying; but it
782 is more commonly applied to prayers offered up in the fields to all the gods, but particularly to Alo Alo, petitioning for a good harvest. It will be also recollected, that prayers are offered up before consecrated houses and graves.

787 As omens, to which they give a considerable

degree of credit, and charms, which they sometimes practise, are more or less connected with their religion, we shall say something of them, before concluding the present subject. Most of their omens we have already had occasion to mention, and have given instances of in the course of the narrative. As to dreams, (see Vol. I. chap. 4 and 14.) Thunder and lightning (same vol. chap. 12 and 14.) Sneezing (same vol. chap. 14.) These omens obtain almost universal credit; and they are thought to be direct indications from the gods of some event that is about to happen. There is a certain species of bird which they call *chicota'*, which is very apt to make a sudden descent, and dart close by one, making a shrieking noise: this bird they suppose to be endowed with a knowledge of futurity, and they consider this action to be a warning of some evil that is about to happen. 787 [828] [821] [827] 787 825

As Mr. Mariner was once going out with the present king, and a party of men, upon some excursion against the enemy, one of these birds made a sudden descent, passed over their heads, settled on a tree, passed over their heads again, and again settled; upon which the majority, not excepting the king, were for returning immediately; but Mr. Mariner laughed at their superstition, and, to prove that the bird had no 787 825 727

787 great insight into matters of futurity, he shot
825 it with his musket: but, however, this did not
727 prevent them from going back to their garrison; and several had a full conviction that Mr. Mariner would soon be killed for this sacrilege.

754 In respect to the charms practised among them, we have also a few words to say. The principal is that called *tatáo*, which has already
[787] been described, Vol. I. chap. 14.[A] There are
[755] only two other practices which can well come under this head, viz. *cábe*, or rather *vangi*, which means a curse, or a malevolent order or command; and *ta nioo*, a charm to discover whether a sick person will live or die. Of the former, viz. *cábe*, we have given instances (Vol. I. p. 284), from which it will appear that they are chiefly malevolent wishes, or commands, that the object may eat, or otherwise maltreat his relations or gods; and when we come to reflect that they believe in no future place of punishment, but that all human evils are the consequences of crimes, and that disrespect to one's superior relations is little short of sacrilege to the gods, these malevolent commands, however ridiculous some of them may appear to us, amount to the most horrible curses; for if such commands were fulfilled, nothing less than the most dreadful of human miseries would be ex-

[A] [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 424-425--Analyst]

754 pected to fall on the head of the sacrilegious perpetrator. But it is only when a number of curses are repeated in a string, as it were, and pronounced firmly, and with real malevolence, that they are supposed to have any effect; but not even then, if the party who curses is considerably lower in rank than the party cursed. When a whole string is thus uttered, it is properly called *vángi*, and is often to the amount of thirty or forty in number. Mr. Mariner has heard one consisting of eighty maledictions, all disposed in rhyme; the rhyme, however, is not necessary: for a tolerable fair sample of this wonderful charm, the following may be taken: "Dig up your father by "moonlight, and make soup of his bones; bake "his skin to cracknel; gnaw his skull; devour "your mother; dig up your aunt, and cut her "to pieces; feed upon the earth of your grave; "chew the heart of your grandfather; swallow "the eyes of your uncle; strike your god; eat "the gristly bones of your children; suck out "the brains of your grandmother; dress your"self up in the skin of your father, and tie it on "with the entrails of your mother," &c.&c.&c.

755 781 As to the charm of *ta nioo*, it consists in spinning a cocoa-nut with the husk on, and judging by the direction of the upper part, when again at rest, of the object of inquiry, which is chiefly, whether a sick person will recover: for this

755 purpose, the nut being placed on the ground, a
781 relation of the sick person determines that, if
the nut, when again at rest, points to such a
quarter, the east for example, that the sick man
will recover: he then prays aloud to the patron
god of the family, that he will be pleased to direct
the nut, so that it may indicate the truth:
the nut being next spun, the result is attended
to with confidence, at least with a full conviction
that it will truly declare the intentions of
781 the gods at the time. The other occasions in
[524] which the spinning of a cocoa-nut is used, is
chiefly for amusement, and then no prayer is
made, and no degree of credit is attached to
[578] the result. The women often spin a cocoa-nut
to decide some dispute at a game.

539 to him, and they ran away together. Lolo, however, was not without his disappointments. His humiliating desertion by a lady who preferred Lepuha before him has passed into proverb (17, no. 462).

AUKA AND TALAFAIVA

It is said that the Tui Tonga Telea, who probably lived in the seventeenth century, once went on a trip to the northern parts of Tonga, accompanied by his very beautiful wife, Talafaiva. When they reached Vavau they determined to live for a time on the island of Euakafa. House and grounds, therefore, were prepared for them, and when all was completed the king and his wife walked round and inspected their new home. They were perfectly satisfied with the arrangements made, except that Talafaiva requested that a foui tree which had been left standing just outside the palisade be cut down. She thought that this might furnish means for clandestine entry into the compound. The king, however, thought her fears groundless, and the tree was left standing.

So they lived in Euakafa, and the king travelled about Vavau, attending to his kingly duties. During one of his absences a handsome man of Vavau, whom tradition is inclined to identify with Lepuha, climbed the foui tree, and entered the compound.[1] So great was his attractiveness that the beautiful [302] Talafaiva yielded to his advances. Before he left her he tattooed, or painted, a design on her belly as a mark of his conquest[2], and so, when the king returned, her infidelity was apparent. Then Telea, in his anger, called to his attendant Auka to smite the woman. Auka happened at the time to be cutting firewood, and he sprang forward with a billet of wood, and struck her dead. Then was Telea grieved, for he dearly loved his wife, and thought that Auka would have known his heart sufficiently well not to have interpreted his bidding so harshly. However, the fatal deed was done beyond recall, so the great stone slabs were cut for the burial vault and Talafaiva was interred.[3]

TALES RELATING TO CLAIRVOYANCE

HAMA THE CLAIRVOYANT

539 787 Three stories are related illustrating the powers of Hama. The first indicates keen observation and shrewd reasoning rather than clairvoyance. He is said to have been able to tell of things in distant localities, without his body going to them or his eye seeing them.

One of his exploits relates to the discovery of the island of Ata (Pylstaart). Hama, living in Eua, noticed a tropic bird flying away for food before daylight. He called together the crew of a canoe, telling them to

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

get their boat ready for sea, and then to sleep together, so that when he 539
called them very early in the morning they might launch the boat quickly to 787
follow the tropic bird to sea, and seek food at the island of Ata. Thus was Ata discovered. Not only did Hama tell the men of the existence of Ata, to which a boat had never been previously, but also what headlands they should find, and that there was a rock, named Maka-ooa, standing by itself. When the canoe returned the crew reported that Hama was correct in what he had said.

Another exploit of Hama was the reporting of a club fight that took place in Tongatabu while he remained quietly at home in Eua. A noted fighter, Hifo of Eua, lived in close attendance on the Tui Tonga. He was fed from the Tui Tonga's food, because of his skill as an athlete. The 539
great festival of the Inasi, presentation of first-fruits, was marked by 787
various amusements and sports, including the *kotone*, which seems to have embraced wrestling, club-fighting, and boxing. On one occasion, during 651
the Inasi, Hifo was matched with a champion from Vavau in fighting with 526
clubs of stems of the coconut leaf. The festival was in Tongatabu, but Hama in Eua described the progress of the fight to the Eua people. He told them of the overthrow and death of their champion Hifo, and warned them to prepare for his funeral. When a canoe arrived with news of the festival Hama's description was confirmed.

Another exploit concerns a pet tropic bird of the Tui Haatakalaua. This 539
great chief, who lived in Fonua Motu, a part of the village of Mua, had 787
a favorite tropic bird, round whose leg was tied a ribbon of bark, dyed red, so that the bird should be known, and not harmed by anyone who might chance to see it. Every morning the bird flew off to seek food, returning in the evening to its master. This went on for a long time, until one evening the bird did not return. The Tui Haatakalaua was grieved at the loss of his pet, and could think of no means whereby he might recover it. But remembering the repute of Hama, he sent a canoe, and had the clairvoyant brought to him. When the Tui Haatakalaua had told Hama his trouble he replied, "The thing thou speakest of is well; straightway shall I tell thee of it. Thy bird is not yet dead, but is still alive. It is flying about for food; it is seeking food in a distant place." The chief asked where was this distant place, and whether the bird would return. Hama replied that it was in Samoa, and that it would come back again. Then the chief bade Hama tell definitely the day of its return, and Hama answered that the bird was then in Faumea, and that it would begin its homeward flight from there. He told the successive stages of its return from Tafahi to Fatukalapu, and then to Aka and on to Fonualei and Toku, to Faleovalu, and on to the two Hungas, and so to Hakau Tapu (Sacred Reef). On the day when Hama reported that the bird had reached Hakau

539 787 Tapu the Tui Haatakalaua kept making inquiries of him, and he suspected that the clairvoyant's words were not true. It happened to be the day of the games called *kotone* in the festival of the Inasi, and Hama bade the chief go and hide in the middle of the rolled mat-screen in his house until the bird came in to seek him. Now the Tui Haatakalaua has a special seat at the *kotone*. As the sun rose higher, and the day grew warmer, the chief kept asking Hama where his bird was, and the clairvoyant kept naming to him place after place, continually drawing nearer and nearer. But in his heart the chief seemed to think that Hama was lying. The time of the festival came, but the Tui Haatakalaua did not go to it, but kept asking Hama where his bird was. At last Hama said "It is at Nukunukumotu, and is close," and presently, at a repetition of the question, "Here it is," he said, "here in Moume; see it; go and hide in the screen, and let it look for you." The chief looked, and saw a tropic bird approaching, but he could see no red ribbon on its leg, and told his doubts to Hama. But Hama replied "Chief, it is true that there was a red ribbon, but where is Samoa? It has fished on all the reefs, and the ribbon has become white. There, see it hanging on the bird's leg; it has become white, and cannot be seen so far." Then the chief stood up and looked, and then ran into the house and hid in the screen. The bird flew into the house, searched about for its master, when suddenly it heard a shout from the green where the festival was in progress, and flew out to the Tui Haatakalaua's seat, and round about the green, looking for him. Then it returned to the house, where it found the chief sitting, for he had come from his hiding-place in the screen. Then the bird darted to the chief, and they greeted and caressed each other, and the chief stroked and kissed his pet. And the Tui Haatakalaua acknowledged that Hama was the first of clairvoyants in all the country.

LOAU

The famous Loau of Haamea, in Tongatabu, is also reputed to have been possessed of wonderful clairvoyant gifts. He is frequently called Loau Tongafisi (Loau Clairvoyant, or Loau the Seer). There is another Loau, Loau Tuputoka, said by some to be a younger brother of Loau Tongafisi. Loau Tuputoka went to Samoa to "seek the sun" (*ke kumi ae laa*), and there met Fasiapule, the elder brother, by another mother, of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, who probably reigned early in the thirteenth century (12, pp. 177-8; 22, p. 49). There are some differences in details, but in the main points the various accounts confirm one another. The remark that Loau went to seek the sun suggests that an interesting tale has been lost. Nua, wife of Tuitatui, is said to have been the daughter of Loau, presumably of Loau Tongafisi. The langakali (*Aglaia sp.*), a tree valued especially for its sweet-smelling flowers, is especially associated with Loau.

539 For 'tis a land of women's talk.
Ah indeed, I am grieved in secret;
644 Take thought what we shall do,
We are weary of fear,
276 Rejoicing in the king we have got;
687 I am but punished.
Pluck down Alotolu,"
And Toloa and Humu.
Awake wind from Tufuhu,"
Breathe gently all winds,
Sing wind of the north,
The south wind, and wind below Kalau,"
And gleam the town that thunders for war;"
The sea moans on Teuhie and Kaloafu."
The Kailakulaku has put out"
That they may shatter regiments,
That without rival he be king,
And that we live under his justice."
Io ahi a, but he is good,"
A chief of exceeding kindness;
His dear beauty and brightness"
In the cave, the hollow in Tukitou.
False reliance is voyaging [with him],
And the correctness of a maimed hand."
Let none speak to me,
Forbidden the murmur, taken to Toku."
My love to the King,
Let be, farewell Tongatabu.
A-he, voyaging [together] will be broken down."

RHYMES FOR GAMES

HIKO

524 A favorite game of the Tongan girls (*hiko*), consists in juggling oranges.
The girls become remarkably expert, and it is no uncommon thing to see
five or six oranges kept in the air. The players sit in a little ring, and
[538] as one breaks down she passes the oranges on to her neighbor. The games
are scored by means of these rhymes, and doubtless others, which are almost
as unintelligible to the Tongan as the *eeny, deeny, diny, do* of English chil-
[539] dren is to them. Interesting words, however, are preserved, for example,
Savaiki in the eighth line of the first rhyme.

524 The game *hiko* was under the special patronage of the god Fehuluni, of
whose origin Gifford gives an account (22, pp. 153-155). It was tapu to
776 play *hiko* at night. If the tapu were disregarded Fehuluni would be angry,
[784] and come and take the offender's eyes, and play *hiko* with them. Fehuluni
is said to have visited mortal men and women, in the guise of a beautiful
776 woman or of a handsome man. Men who embraced Fehuluni in female
787 shape became sick, and some died; while women who became pregnant to
the male Fehuluni were unable to bring forth. Sometimes, but not always,
[755] remedies were of avail, inducing a bleeding which was followed by restored
health. Fehuluni is said also to have appeared with the face veiled by the
top of the head, which seems inconsistent with the beauty attributed to him,
539 though it is admitted that his appearance was not always beautiful. Each
524 of these rhymes marks an *ulu* (game). To go right through the piece
marks one *ulu*. The players agree beforehand how many *ulu* there are to
be in the match. If, as between two players, one breaks down at some point
within the *ulu*, and then her opponent also breaks down; the first player is
allowed to continue at the point at which she erred, and if she completes
the *ulu* her opponent must start at the beginning, and is beaten unless she
goes right through at this second attempt.

11. By *ma* (we) Tukulua indicates himself and one other, possibly a sweetheart. 539
It is possible that in this regretful farewell to the happy activities of living men and
women, he is thinking more particularly, though not exclusively, of the charms of 76
women's company. *Tuula* (perch for birds) would seem more likely to be applied to [763]
women than to men; women are frequently called *lupe* (pigeon). For a possible
reference underlying *tata anga lei* (place of carving ivory), see *lei mangamanga* (p. [192]
130).

12. By "games" (*tolo*) is meant the sport of dart-throwing, but possibly there [524]
is a covert allusion to love.

13. The form of the phrase *tuma 'ae fuifui puleoto* (man, lad) of cluster of
puleoto recalls the Hebrew "son of oil." The *puleoto* is a shell used for the necklaces [237]
of chiefs and is a valued ornament of chiefly virgins. To wear this shell is a mark [301]
of virginity, for if a girl who is not a virgin wears one suspended from her neck the
shell will not lie properly upon her bosom, but will turn over. [836]

14. The *motelolo* is a tree. [824]

15. There are two musical directions in my manuscript copy. The word *fasi*
apparently marks a part where those who sing the air come in, or perhaps sing alone, [533]
and the word *lautoka* is perhaps a direction to the base or seconds. The refrains that
recur throughout the piece were probably sung by the full chorus.

Page 79. On the death of the Tui Tonga

1. Langiehetupua is the name of Tui Tonga's burial vault. 539

2. The number of pigeons flying about in all the islands (*otu fonua*) was an 76
omen of the King's death.

3. In the original Tongan text *mata 'o peka* is written as three words and would 643
thus mean face (front) of *peka* (flying-fox), but the probability is that it should be
taken here as a geographical name. It is possible that the phrase may mean the faces, [764]
appearance of the people of Peka (21). Veituna also appears to be a geographical
name. Where these places are, or why they are mentioned, is not known. [763]

4. Malamaisaua (indistinctly written, and possibly Malamaisana, but Malamaisaua [787]
suits the rhyme and is in all likelihood correct) is probably a place name, perhaps the
name of the late Tui Tonga's compound; but it may be one of the names of the [825]
King himself.

5. *'Otua* means god, spirit. This direct ascription of deity to the king descended [776]
from the Lords of Heaven may perhaps be made easier by the fact that he is dead
and has returned (or is about to return?) to the land of immortals, but it seems preferable to regard it as a statement of what the Tui Tonga, the Sacred King, actually was in his status as a king, both king of mortals and a god, probably preeminently the god so far as men were concerned.

6. Screen (*tatau*). A screen (*kolo*) is sometimes put around the bodies of chiefs [764]
during the burial ceremony in the cemetery and, for the very great chiefs, also in the
house in which the body lay before being taken to the cemetery. Inside this screen only the *haa tufunga* (compare Maori *tohunga* and cognates in other dialects), members of the family group to whom belonged funerary arrangements, were allowed to enter.

7. Alaivahamamao, probably a *matapule* of the dead king.

8. "Midrib of the coconut leaflet" signifies the dead king. He is so called [192]
because flowers and leaves are strung on the midrib, and the name signifies him who
was the center of festival for which garlands and necklaces were prepared; him to whom most of all were brought objects of pleasure and delight.

9. Manono and Fualu are names of localities in Tonga. It is possible that [103]
Manono is indicated. The statement has been made in Tonga that there is tradition
that the pigeon came from Samoa to Tonga. Perhaps the most likely interpretation is that the pigeon of Manono and Fualu is the dead King, though it is possible that this is the beginning of an address to the women of Manono and Fualu, calling on them to mourn. The loss of the next five lines makes it impossible to decide.

10. At the end of the mutilated line is *evalu*, translated "eight," but of course there is nothing to show that the syllables are not, for example, the end of a name.

11. The use of the word *afio* (reign) does not mean that the king will be king [775]
of Pulotu, for Hikuleo is ruler there; but the word *afio* is used of the Tui Tonga and
has a wide range of application. It is the word used of the king's being, presence, in [192]
any place. The lines mean little more than that he will be in Pulotu, Pulotutuumau
(Pulotu stand fast). If Watkin (36) is correct in thinking that the Tongans divided

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 103 **334. Nukualofa fakahekeheke:** Flattering Nukualofa.

The name Nukualofa, applied today to the large village which is the capital of the modern Kingdom of Tonga, had formerly a much more restricted application. Speaking generally, however, it is said that this part has been called successively by the names Maufanga, Navua, Nukualefa, and Nukualofa. Of the last two, Nuku-alefa means Hungry-place, and Nuku-alofa, Kindly-place. Flattering Nukualofa is used derisively with the imputation that the expression of "Kindly-place" is mere flattery used to procure food for Hungry-place.

539 484 505 **335. Taka Tongatapu tae i Eua:** Going about in Tongatabu without being in Eua.

The island of Eua although close to Tongatabu is inconveniently situated for coming and going with the prevailing winds; the trip one way is frequently easy but sometimes several days elapse before a sailing boat can make the return passage. Consequently comparatively few people visit Eua. One may live for years in Tongatabu or a stranger may go through Tongatabu from end to end and yet not include Eua in his itinerary. (See Nos. 350 and 352.)

539 787 **336. Toka i Maananga:** Lying (beforehand) in Maananga.

Maananga is the name of the home of the chief Loau who plays so great a part in Tongan legend. He was a seer who resting quietly at home was able to see all that was going on elsewhere, or at least a great deal of it. People might purpose to carry out a project and set to work on it, but it was all known to the chief in Maananga, the whole thing lay exposed [779] to view in Maananga. This expression, written as one word, is commonly used of omniscience in Christian worship.

539 823 **337. Tonga mounga ki he loto:** Tonga's mountain is in its heart.

This is said to be the reply of the Tongatabu people to the people of Haapai and Vavau, when taunted with having no mountain in their island. [873] The phrase has been very happily adopted by the late Rev. Dr. Moulton as the motto of the Tubou College, of which he was the founder. Dr. Moulton has of course applied its brave language to the whole of the Tongan group, 539 133 823 186 184 inclusive of Haapai and Vavau. If this account of the origin of the expression be correct it bears interesting testimony to the isolation of Eua from Tongatabu. Eua is not as high as Tofua or Kao, the two mountainous islands of Haapai, but it is certainly very high land in Tonga and is much closer to Tongatabu than Tofua and Kao are to the main part of the Haapai group, which is in general very low. Moreover, the population of Eua has probably always been greater than that of Tofua and Kao. The people of Eua, although only a few hours' sail under favorable conditions from Tongatabu seem in general to have lived a life of their own, though by no means one always of peaceful monotony.

539 484 829 261 **338. Uakai pea alu ki Fuaamotu:** Hungry, then go to Fuaamotu.

Fuaamotu is a village in the eastern part of Tongatabu, a place that to a great number of the inhabitants of Tongatabu seems and actually is

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 This tree in Pulotu is called by the Tongans the *puko lea*, speaking
773 *puko*, and it is curious that a tree in Samoa which has an equivalent name
571 (*pu'a*) and which is apparently the same tree, is called *pu'angangana*,
824 speaking *pu'a*. (Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, II Band, p. 381.)

RELIGION

539 370. **E unua e tevolo:** The devil will be shifted.
776 Applied to one who is very hard to move. The idea is that it would
157 be easier to shift a devil than such a one, hard as devils are to move. (Compare Nos. 358, 340 and 133.)

539 371. **Fahu ae tapu:** The prohibition is removed.
554 The word *fahu*, which is of great importance in the understanding of
565 the social organization, indicates broadly rights enjoyed by reason of superior
784 family rank. A tabu can be removed by one who has this superiority to the one who imposed it, and *fahu* thus comes to be a technical word for the removal of tabu. As a question this phrase is used to rebuke one who has presumed to do that which he should not.

539 372. **Faka-momoa-tea:** White fowl fashion.
825 This seems to be the literal translation, taking *momoa* as the reduplicated
787 form of *moa*, fowl. The white fowl is said to be an omen bird. There are two principal senses in which the word is used; first, ominous,
201 presaging evil; second, to weep for the living as though they were dead.

539 373. **Hange ko Hina:** Like Hina.
776 Hina was one of the most talked of goddesses, as Jinilau was one of
773 the most talked of gods. Both are represented as very beautiful. Should a discussion arise as to the identity of a goddess in a tale the story was likely to be finally credited to Hina. Similarly Jinilau would probably be
[829] hit on if the name of a male diety were in question. So to say that anyone is like Hina means that he is much talked of, or much abused.

539 374. **Hia i Fanakava:** Criminal in Fanakava.
778 Fanakava was the name of a very famous sanctuary in Mua, the chief
681 district of Tongatabu, and the home of the Tui Tonga and of other great lords. Up to the introduction of Christianity Fanakava afforded an inviolable sanctuary to all who gained it. The expression indicates a person guilty of some offense but secure from punishment.

539 375. **Ji e he tevolo:** The devil pushing.
776 Used sarcastically to one who is making a poor apology for his bad conduct, "H'm, the devil shoved you into it." This phrase, which is recent,
183 is said to have originated with a man who went visiting a lady he should not have visited, and who, when put on trial for his conduct, defended himself by saying that he went to the woman without knowing what he was doing and that he supposed the devil must have thrust him into the house.

376. Jio pe ka kuo i A'a: Seeing but in A'a; equivalent to day- 539
dreaming, absent-minded. 776

A'a is an island in Vavau where resided the two female deities Jiji 825
and Faingaa, who used to appear in the form of the dark and light-colored 774
heron respectively and to take the spirits of handsome men to their island. The bodies of the beaux thus deprived of their spirits would see and hear and to all appearance be carrying out their normal functions, but their souls were really far away.

377. Mamahii tapu ka kuo ilo: Solicitous for the tabu, but 539
knowing. 784

This indicates one who is genuinely desirous of observing a tabu, but who knowing the value or charm of the thing prohibited is irresistibly attracted by it and may in the end even break the tabu. The story of Eve and the fruit has been quoted in illustration of this.

378. Mana hoo tevolo: May your devil have power (*mana*). 539

A threat of an angry man to another. Your god will need plenty of 776
power to protect you from what I am going to do to you. In its present form it is modern, but with the substitution of some oher word for *tevolo* (devil) may well be ancient. Another form of the same phrase is *Manamana hoo tevolo ke ta fai,* May your devil have power for us to do (strive together). The meaning of the two phrases is the same. Either expression may be preceded by *Ofa ke,* I hope that.

379. Ngali pe tevolo moe pouli: Devil just befitting the darkness

Sprites and ghosts and supernatural appearances usually show up at night. Applied to a person with a bad reputation to whom all sorts of bad actions are likely to be imputed. Having once got the reputation of a devil he is liable to be made to carry the blame for any fresh deed of darkness.

380. ·Pekepeka-tama.

This indicates the white flying-fox said to be an omen of disaster to 539
the house of Ata the chief of Kolovai in the west of Tongatabu, and thence 825
used generally of an omen, portent. The words seem literally to mean, 787
Flying-fox lad, as though one were addressing the observation to another.
Tama, lad, is frequently applied to chiefs irrespective of age, as *touhine,* [565]
girl, is used of chiefly woman. *Pekepeka* is the usual name for the swift [561]
(*Collocallia spodiopyga*), but in this instance seems to be a reduplicated [136]
form of *peka,* the flying fox.

381. Tevolo hala he jikota: A devil making a road of a king- 539
fisher, that is, manifesting himself through the kingfisher (*Hal-* 776 825
cyon sacra). 571

The habit of calling the old gods "devils" dates only from the intro- [136]
duction of Christianity. As this expression implies the kingfisher was one

480. Tala tae fai tuunga: Talk without making standing place, 539
that is, to report something without adducing grounds of belief. 829
521

481. Tala tae fakaejia: Talk without putting a handle to it, that is, to tell something without adducing any proof or grounds of belief.

Baker understands the "handle" to one's talk to refer to appropriate action following on words, and translates the phrase, "To say and do not; to say one thing but do the contrary." The expression probably lent itself to both uses.

482. Tauange mo koe: I sincerely desire of you. 539
This is hardly a proverbial expression but is freely used in earnest 521
entreaty.

483. Vale tala vale: Fool telling fool; one fool upbraiding another for his folly.

Used like similar expressions in English. (See No. 427.)

483a. Oku longo a Tonga: Tonga is silent.

Tongans are not in the habit of talking while eating and so this [264]
phrase is applied jocularly to a party of Tongans sitting silent at a meal.
It is said to have been first applied by Fijians.

DISEASE AND MEDICINE

484. Avanga kai ate: Possession (by a spirit) consuming liver. 539
The liver is reckoned the seat of life and of at least some of the 826
passions. The term *avanga* is applied to those illnesses which are caused 753
by demonic possessions. Proverbially this phrase is applied to the yearning 787
and distress of intense love.
It is worthy of note that in ceremonies the liver of a slaughtered pig [832]
is taken and presented to the chief. This is stated to be a presentation to [622]
the chief of the whole of the pig's life. (See also No. 485.) [825]

485. Kuo toona hoku ate: My liver is baked. 539
This indicates distress. My life is consumed, wasted away. 826

486. Foki mei he uhi: Returning from the *uhi*. 539
Restoration to health from an apparently hopeless sickness. The *uhi* 757
(Evodia hortensis) is largely used in native medicine, so largely that it [137]
perhaps stands here as the type of a drug which will be tried without much expectation of its proving efficacious when the practitioners are at their wits' end.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 **618. Nofo a mama kao kailao e fakafaanga:** Men doing nothing
535 while the gods dance.
776 More strictly *fakafaanga* seems to mean the material objects, including
[787] priests, in which the gods appeared. The phrase indicates that it is useless
[793] for men to let the gods have the entertainment of their dances while they themselves do nothing. Men are unable to share the enjoyment of the denizens of the unseen world, and so they must get to work and make their own fun.

539 **619. Taka i lalo hakanga:** Living below the dancing place, that
535 is, in close proximity to it.
183 One who lives in a place where dances are constantly learned and
868 performed has exceptional opportunities for becoming proficient. So the expression is used of one who enjoys great facilities for acquiring some art, knowledge, or other benefit, material, mental or spiritual.

UNCLASSIFIED PROVERBS

539 **620. Afi jii tupu ai e afi lahi:** Small fire, there springs from it
183 the great fire.

A warning of the sort common in so many languages and literatures against the unwisdom of neglecting evil in its small beginnings. It is possible to use it also as an expression of the great good works that spring from humble beginnings.

539 **621. Alualu i mala tau ki monu:** Going along in misfortune,
777 reaching good fortune.

It is used of one who, after being long involved in ill luck, at length
[797] experiences a change of fortune and has prosperity. As a matter of actual present day experience one frequently hears it applied by the natives to their having been so long involved in the darkness of heathenism and having in these latter times come out into the light of Christianity.

It is said that *Mala* (Curse, Misfortune), and *Monu* (Blessing, Good
[823] Fortune), are two places, and that one who has reached Mala finds it very difficult to return and get to Monu.

622. Alualu i monu tau ki mala: This is the reverse of No. 621.

Going along in good fortune, reaching misfortune, and is used of the change from prosperity to adversity.

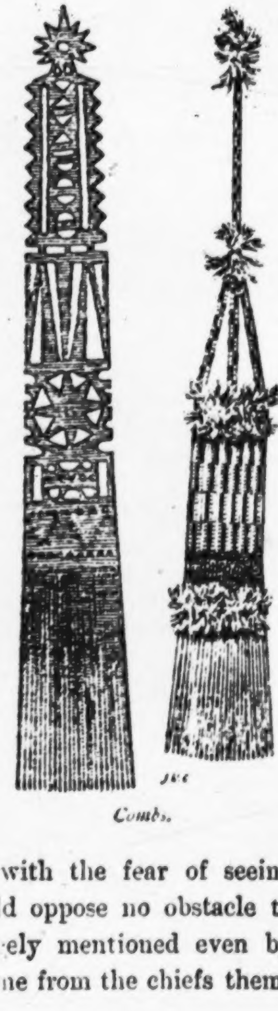
539 **623. Fai mai ete meimei tangi:**
152 We have not succeeded in finding a contemporary Tongan able to
571 explain this. All the words are in common use, and would seem to have
695 some such meaning as "present (a case) almost weeping," as of one making a request with such earnestness that he is on the point of tears; or, taking the word *tangi* in the sense of "appeal, make a request," instead of that of "crying, weeping," we might render as, "I am come with almost a

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

797 presuming to speak to him in a standing posture,—a breach of discipline for which, if reprehensible, I was probable answerable, having encouraged the chief on all occasions to put himself on an equal footing with myself and the other officers. The missionaries seemed also to live much more apart from the natives than in Samoa, where free access is allowed to them at all times. Here, on the contrary, the gates of the enclosures were not merely kept closed, but sometimes locked,—a precaution against intrusion which, although perhaps warranted in some degree by the custom of fencing their grounds, and by the greater propensity on the part of these people to theft, I never saw adopted elsewhere, and which must operate unfavourably to that freedom of intercourse so necessary to the establishment of perfect confidence between the pastors and their flock.

If the missionaries were overbearing to the chiefs even
at that early date, a light is thrown upon the curious
persistence with which some of them clung to paganism.
[771] The ancient beliefs of the Polynesians never formed a
system of religion, and, to compare small things with
great, as the way was already smoothed for Christianity
by the growing scepticism of the Roman empire, so were
the minds of the Tongan chiefs ripe to seize upon any
religious creed with a more logical foundation than the
793 worn-out mummeries of their own ancestor-worship. Per-
771 haps the ancient priestcraft, with its exactions of votive
offerings and its hysterical oracles, would have shared the
fate of its forgotten predecessor, phallus-worship, had the
793 priests been less politic and tactful. But they knew that
565 the existence of their order depended upon the union of
[787] Church and State; and their oracular utterances, plastic
as those of Delphi, were directed always to upholding the
privileges of the chiefs. Between the two orders there

was a thorough understanding. The chief saw that the 793
regular offerings to the spirits were not stinted; the 565
priest, possessed by his god, retained sufficient self-com- [787]
mand to gasp prophecies in re-
markable accordance with the [531]
chief's interest. That they, like [302]
the Augurs, could meet without
grinning, was doubtless due to
the grim reality of the risk that
often attached to the sacerdotal
office; for was not the priest of
Tubou Totai already doomed to
be strangled for failing to restore
Finau's daughter, when sudden
death overtook his patron?
Even seventeen years before the [771]
arrival of the first missionaries,
the chiefs did not care to con-
ceal their scepticism; and per-
haps, if the tragic death of Finau
had not seemed so signal a re-
venge of the outraged gods, the
missionaries would have found
that the ancient faith had
crumbled away of itself before
their arrival.



Combs.

The influence of the priests 793
had been so slight that, even with the fear of seeing
their occupation gone, they could oppose no obstacle to
the new creed. They are scarcely mentioned even by 797
missionaries. The opposition came from the chiefs them- 565

me: not that I feared death by making you my enemy, but the 175
vengeance of my chief, Tubou-toa, was first to be satisfied, and 669
it was a duty I owed the spirit of my father to preserve my life 634
as long as possible that I might have the satisfaction to see thee
thus lie stinking" (dead). He then repeated the blows several
times upon his stomach.

In spite of Finau's positive denial of complicity with
the murderers of his brother, he did not deceive the chiefs
of Vavau. In Haapai, in the centre of Finau's army, they
were at a great disadvantage. When the stone was let
down upon the tomb of their murdered chief, one of the
assassins publicly challenged any of them to single combat;
but none of them accepted, preferring to reserve their
revenge. They swore allegiance to Finau upon a consecrated
bowl, and received his commands to put themselves
under the authority of his aunt, Toe-umu; and all,
except the late chief's *matabules*, who were kept back by
Finau, returned to Vavau. But a fortnight later the news
came that Toe-umu herself had declared her independence
of Finau, who had so treacherously allowed the death of
his brother, her great friend. They had built the largest [725]
fortress ever seen in Tonga, and they were prepared to [712]
resist Finau to the death. While the preparations for
an invasion of Vavau were being made, Finau's son,
Moengangongo, and Vuna, the former Governor of Vavau,
arrived from Samoa, where they had been absent for some
years. One of their canoes, with sixty people on board [501]
and all their treasures, was lost in a gale which the other
five succeeded in weathering.

Finau, in obedience to an oracle, first visited Vavau [787]
alone to endeavour to make terms with the inhabitants,

175 but they would only consent to listen to him on the
669 condition that he would cut off all communication with
634 Haapai. He therefore returned to Haapai and embarked
[787] his forces, about 5000 men and 1000 women, in fifty war-
[701] canoes, with four carronades and ammunition. The siege
[501] lasted many months, and the garrison only submitted in
[713] [725] obedience to the gods, and after imposing conditions upon
[787] their assailants to take no revenge upon any of them.
175 These conditions were not observed. Finau heard, or pre-
669 634 tended that he had heard, of a plot upon his life. Several
727 of the leading chiefs were seized at his kava-party, bound,
and summarily despatched; but eighteen were reserved for
the more signal punishment of being turned adrift in leaky
canoes. On their way to the open sea they implored their
executioners to knock out their brains instead of consigning
them to the slow and ignominious death of drowning, and
the request was granted in twelve cases. The other six,
all chiefs of high rank, were turned adrift, and died regret-
ting their foolishness in trusting to the honour of Finau.

175 In Finau's mind there was a growing scepticism regard-
634 ing the religion of his ancestors. He was now in the
771 zenith of his prosperity, and he had never deserved well
776 of the gods by submission to their will, or by regularity
[643] in his offerings. To him the institution of a Tui Tonga
seemed a useless tax upon the people—a worn-out cult, a
[782] mere survival of the superstition of a darker age. He
[643] was proposing seriously to abolish the *inaji*, the great
annual presentation of food to the Tui Tonga, which, in the
famine that had succeeded the war, was very difficult to
175 provide, when a great misfortune fell upon him. His
634 daughter, after a long illness, died. While there was
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from gods of populous tribes down to deities the private possession of 776
a very few. Naturally, the gods of which one is best able to glean
information are those whose devotees were fairly numerous. At the
best all that we can get to-day is probably only a glimpse at the old
pantheon. But this remnant is doubtless typical, and furnishes a fair
idea of the beliefs of old Tonga, as well as interesting parallels with
other parts of Polynesia.

The apparatus of worship consisted of a temple, apparently in 778
some instances situated amongst trees just outside the village. Too
much must not be made of this, however, as the villages which [368]
one sees to-day are of modern growth, and in earlier days the [361]
population was more scattered. There was at least one sacred grove. [178]
In the temples were kept sacred objects, such as war weapons, stones,
pieces of wood, more or less roughly carved, and often painted with
yellow turmeric. Several fine mats were indispensable, carefully 778
preserved to be spread for the reception of the visiting god in the 285
same way as a household brings out its good mats for a distinguished
mortal visitor. At times of worship these mats were spread, and the [825]
priest sat either on or beside them, whilst the sacred objects of the
temple were displayed on the mats, particularly, if possible, the
animal or what not which was specially sacred to the god to whom
the appeal was being made. The role of the totem was to act as a 781
vehicle whereby the god might bring himself into physical relation
with the material surroundings of human life. The Tongan words 778
used to express the presence of the god in the object sacred to him [825]
signifies his "coming in" it, or "using it as a boat." These material
objects are seldom, most probably never, the god himself. This,
however, is by now so much a commonplace as scarcely to need
restatement in the case of any particular people. Not less was the 787
god actually present in the inspired priest. Evidently there were [793]
others outside of the regular priesthoods who were liable to
inspirations. To the present day some forms of sickness are believed to [753]
be due to demonic possession. So far as my personal observation in
Tonga goes possession seems now to be always maleficent, but a
native connected by blood with Fiji affirms that in that group there
are exemplary and devout Christians who receive helpful accessions of
divine influence from sources not usually included in any scheme of
orthodox theology.

There were priests or priestesses connected with the various cults, 787
who acted as the mouthpieces of the gods, and whose frenzied
inspiration seems to have been the really important part of the 793
divine manifestation. There are asserted to have been deities without
any sacred animal or other object, but the accuracy of this statement [776]
is doubtful. The trembling body, foaming mouth, and wild eyes of [154]

781 the inspired priest have been more than once described. Very few
contemporary Tongans have witnessed the performance, but I have
793 been fortunate enough to hear from a very intelligent elderly chief a
[154] graphic description of the inspiration of a priest which he witnessed
in his boyhood. This was in one of the last retreats of the old
[115] worship, and the wild awe of the scene, enhanced by the darkness
of night, and a double row of lights at the end of which the priest
sat, looking down a lane flanked on either hand by fire, has left an
indelible impression on the old gentleman's mind. Amongst other
781 things he noted the voracious appetite of the priest, who was a Fijian
793 of ordinary stature, but who, under the influence of the divine frenzy
154 devoured a great bunch of bananas or plantains. The native theory
[609] is that the inspiring god in some way eats the food. Another
extraordinary circumstance was the manner of his speech. Usually
[191] this Fijian spoke bad Tongan in a small weak voice, but during his
inspiration his voice was rich and full, and his utterances couched in
eloquent and faultless Tongan, "like a Belehake," as the native
idiom has it.

The appetite of the priest, to which the natives nowadays some-
782 times make caustic reference, seems to have been a fairly constant
factor or inspiration, but presents of food, an indispensable accom-
paniment of a ceremonious visit to a chief, would naturally be taken
by worshippers waiting on their god. *Kava*, always presented to a
782 chief on a ceremonial occasion, was also taken to the gods. The
276 initial rite of worship was a *kava* drinking. A ceremonial *kava* drinking
is a presentation to some person, usually the greatest chief in the
276 gathering. If a number of people pay a visit to a chief they take
574 *kava* to him, some of which will be prepared and drunk then and
565 there, though all may not share in it. The visiting party and the
chief to whom the visit is made, with his retainers, will drink together,
precedence in drinking being strictly observed in accordance with
rank, although the order is not a merely numerical one; for example,
the third bowl is very commonly the most chiefly of all, and even
further down, the fifth or seventh, etc., may take precedence of those
earlier in the list. The due ordering of these matters is one of the
things in which the chiefs' *matabules*, or gentlemen attendants, are
expected to possess expert knowledge. Another prized qualification
of a *matabule* is a full clear voice with which to call, in a kind of loud
intonation, the person to whom the bowl is to be taken, the number
of baskets of food presented, to whom the several portions are to be
taken when the distribution is made, and the like matters. The chief
to whom the *kava* drinking is a presentation is marked by his having
the most chiefly bowl, commonly, though not always, the third, taken
to him to drink, and a slight change in the words with which the
782 *matabule* calls that bowl. In the case of the *kava* drinking with which
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a visit to a shrine commenced, the ceremony was a presentation to the 782
god, and the priest, as his representative and vehicle, had the
precedence. *Kava* is commonly drunk out of coconut-shell cups, but 276
visitors to the gods were wont, apparently, to use cups of folded
banana leaf. These are obviously more ceremonious than the 782
coconut-shells, as they were used in 1918 at the important native 276
ceremony in connection with the installation of the present Queen. I 415
obtained possession of seversl of the cups used on that occasion, but
unfortunately banana leaves are not very durable, and they have
long been reduced to pieces of dried leaf, amongst which destructive
insects have begun their work.

In passing it may be remarked in connection with *kava* that 276
personal experience in Tonga has shown me nothing to justify the
epithet "intoxicating" so often applied to this root. *Kava* drinking
prolonged far into the night produces a very dull Tongan next
morning, but bad hours would be enough in itself to account for at
least a good deal of the drowsiness, and if there be a residuum directly
caused by the absorption of large quantities of *kava*, as is quite
probable, it does not seem rightly stigmatised as intoxication.
Excessive tobacco smoking would produce much the same effect, as
indeed would excess of almost any kind. Seeing how widely the
kava is termed intoxicating by competent observers in other groups, I
can only suppose that the suggestion which I have heard put forward,
that the Tongans drink the root in a more advanced stage of maturity
than the peoples of some other islands may be correct, and that the
green root has more pronounced effects.

The priest, then, duly primed with the cheerful cup, and with the 793
tangible evidence before him that the god's hunger will be satis- 787
factorily appeased, proceeds to work himself into a condition suitable
for the reception of deity. There are living to-day representatives of [157]
an old priestly family, of a highly strung nervous disposition,
exhibiting in all probability characteristics that caused their forebears
to be reverenced as channels of divine communication. A present-day [787]
member of the family has distinguished himself by intrepid and
successful missionary pioneering in the Solomon Islands.

The worshippers usually resort to the gods for information
concerning risky undertakings, such as war, and for deliverance, or
protection, from the disasters that commonly afflict our life, such as
sickness or bad seasons, caused by drought or hurricane. There 721
seems to have been no special god of war, but for guidance in this
important undertaking each tribe referred to its own god, the 787
indications of the god's pleasure being given in some instances at [776]
least by movements of the clubs or other war weapons with which the
shrine was provided. If the weapon from which the auguries were sought
refused to budge that was an indication of the god's desire for peace.

NOTES ON TONGAN RELIGION.

By E. E. V. Collocot.

PART II.

TUI Haafakafonua. This god is identified with Moso in Samoa 776
and Tutumatua in Fiji. His Tongan habitat was Maofanga, a [171]
village near Nukualofa. When the native cults were still living
Maofanga enjoyed the reputation of special sanctity. There was here
a chiefly burial ground, and the house of refuge of Tui Haafakafonua 776
was justly famous. Many, if not all, of the gods had evidently their 778
places of sanctuary, but some were not able to afford much protection [764]
to the fugitive from vengeance; they were *tutulu*, literally, leaky, but
others were not leaky, and once within their precincts the guilty man
was safe. Of these non-leaky sanctuaries that of Tui Haafakafonua
was one of the most famous.

Fakafonua is the chief of Maofanga, and Haa-Fakafonua means 776
the tribe or clan of Fakafonua. Tui Haa-Fakafonua means the king 613
of the tribe of Fonua, the name suggesting a close connection with the
tribal organisation. The sacred animal of this god was a lizard, and 776
for the convenience of his departure, and presumably arrival, a tree or [825]
post was always provided for him to crawl along. A handy post or
tree-stump was a regular part of his temple furnishings. At the end [778]
of a seance the priest clapped his hand on the post, and, evidently 793
speaking as the god, said to the worshippers "Good-bye," and then
evidently speaking as the priest to the god, again said "Good-bye," 787
using a very high chiefly term. The people, too, using this same
word, also bade the departing deity good-bye. In the native tongue of [192]
course these good-byes are very different terms as addressed to those
who are going away or to those who are remaining.

It was the priest of this god whose inspiration Tamale witnessed
as a boy. Tui Haa-Fakafonua used to appear in a pond in Maofanga, 776
and was noted for his fondness for the ladies who used to become sick [753]
by bathing in the sacred water. It was this god to whom I referred
previously as having heard that women became pregnant by bathing [842]
in his pond. Although this is not absolutely verified it seems a not
unlikely detail.

Mofuta-ae-ta'u. This deity, whose name seems literally to mean the "Proud Boastfulness of the Season," was the god of Tamale, the chief of Niutoua, in Eastern Tongatabu, who was also intimately

[p. 227]

foes, and it is said of priests that it is better that they themselves 776
should die than that one who has taken refuge with them should
perish. Niukapu in gratitude to his deliverer told Kautae to take his 778
pick of a piece of land, but the priest instead asked Niukapu for his 793
kava, which means that in *kava* ceremonies Kautae has the right to
demand that the cup intended for Niukapu should be brought to him. 776
This practice is not very uncommon. There is an old gentleman in the 778
island of Haano, in Haapai, who, although not a chief himself, has the 793
right to demand the *kava* of a considerable number of chiefs on the
ground of their descent from his family. 276

Taufa is both a sea and a land god. In the sea he is manifested 574
as the shark, and is called Taufa-tahi, i.e., Taufa of the Sea. On
land he bore the name Taufa-uta, i.e.. Taufa of the Land, but had no 776
separate sacred animal. In fact, Taufa-tahi and Taufa-uta cannot be 825
considered as two distinct manifestations of the god. Taufa was the 778
god, his totem was the shark, and he had his shrines ashore in which 793
he spoke through his priest. The name most commonly applied to
him is Taufa-tahi. Taufa's shark seems to have been a mythical sea 187
monster. Near Mua, the chief village in eastern Tongatabu, is a
place in the sea, where it is asserted that on calm days white mounds,
like the mounds heaped up over the graves of the dead, can be seen
beneath the water. This spot is called Taufa's cemetery, and here the
god, in the form of an exceedingly white shark, might be sometimes
seen.

Taufa was a notable protector of gardens. To secure the services 776
of the god the husbandman had simply to plait a coconut-leaf in the
semblance of a shark, and hang it up in his plantation. This placed 241
the garden under a *tabu* that none would dare to violate. It is said 776
that after the introduction of Christianity a man had the hardihood to 241
thrust his hand in mockery into one of these *tabu*-signs; but the
moribund deity was not to be insulted with impunity, and soon after- 184
wards the sacrilegious violator, whilst bathing in the sea, had both
his arms bitten off by a shark. It is interesting to notice that the 776
priestly succession has been maintained to the present day, and a 793
Kautae is still regularly appointed.

Talini Tubou is the god of the Tui Kanokupolu, whose title is now
assumed by the constitutional ruler of Tonga. Even before the advent of 776
Christianity real power was gradually passing out of the hands of the 643
Tui Tonga into those of more active lords, notably the Tui Kanokupolu,
who was in any case a very high chief. Tubou, the royal title of the 554
Tui Kanokupolu appears in the name of the god. Kanokupolu is
itself a small village in the west of Tongatabu, but the Tui Kanokupolu 103
chieftainship has long been a much more important thing than king of
this little village would seem to imply, but the real moment of the 361
name Kanokupolu itself must doubtless be sought elsewhere. Kupolu

361 is a widely distributed Polynesian place name. As the capital of the modern kingdom Nukualofa is of course the residence of the Tui [103] Kanokupolu; but the connection between this chieftainship and [644] Nukualofa is of longer standing than merely since the establishment of Christianity. The ancient Nukualofa was much smaller than the present town, which includes within its boundaries a number of family groups who inhabited areas whose names and locations are still known.

The sacred object of Taliai Tubou is a large black volcanic pebble, 778 roughly oval in shape, now in the possession of the Wesleyan College, Nukualofa. This stone is called Tui Ahau, i.e., King of Ahau. Its 613 headquarters were probably Kolovai, the largest town in western [778] Tongatabu, and the home of Ata, the head of the Haa Ngata (Tribe of Ngata), to which the Tui Kanokupolu belongs. Ahio was originally the head of this tribe, but his influence waned by a process similar to that by which the Tui Tonga's prestige diminished.

Besides the Tui Ahau in Nukualofa there is lying on the ground 778 in Kolovai another stone of the same kind, which enjoys a sort of twin sanctity, and is reputed to possess the power, rather unusual in a stone, of bringing forth little pebbles. The natives who led me to see the stone narrated this curious circumstance with perfect gravity, but search failed to reveal any of the fruits of petrine propagation.

These stones are of a sort not found on the coral islands of the group, and were perhaps brought from one or other of the two volcanic mountains in Haapai, Tofua and Kao.

Bekebeka-a-Tama, a flying-fox god, belonging originally to Ula, a 776 *matabule* (minor chief, or rather, great gentleman-attendant of a chief) 825 of Ahau, a village near Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, but now transferred to Ata of Kolovai. The actual god seems to be a purely [787] mythical flying-fox, whose appearance is an omen of disaster to Ata. Bekabeka-a-tama is distinguished from the rank and file of flying-foxes (*beka*) by his white colour, but I know of no one who claims ever to 824 have seen him.* In Kolovai are several casuarina trees on which the 825 flying-foxes are protected by a *tabu*, and which are covered with the rather noisome little creatures. One or two great chiefs, however, 784 have the right of shooting them on the prohibited trees. If one falls from the trees to the ground it is free of the *tabu*, and may be picked up and taken away. Rumour avers that the modern small boy's awe of the *tabu* is not sufficient to deter him from trying the effect of a 825 surreptitious missile. Should the flying-foxes desert their trees Ata 276 must make *kava* for them and so entice them home again.

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* Ata has since told me that he has several times seen a white flying-fox, most recently within the last two or three years.

Fakafumaka, or Vakafuhu, is the god of the village of Kanokupolu, 643
already mentioned as giving his title to the Tui Kanokupolu. Formerly
there stood here a tree beneath which the installation of the Tui [776]
Kanokupolu took place. A piece of wood from this tree has been used
in the construction of the throne of the Tongan kings, being let in at 643
the back of the royal seat, a symbol of the tree which once stood at the 644
back of the Tui Kanokupolu during his installation ceremony. 824

The sacred animal of this god was a little shell-fish called the *fuhu*,
but there is an obscure statement that he appeared sometimes as a 776
man and sometimes as a rock. The appearance as a man is probably 825
his declaring himself through the priest, but the meaning of his being
a rock is not clear, though it is apparently closely connected with the [787]
fuhu. [793]

An old song is still extant describing the voyage of Faka-fumaka
and Tutula, accompanied by the goddess Fai or Fai-malie, to Bulotu. 776
Fai is the real heroine of the piece, and distinguished herself not only
by her coolness and good sense in the several difficulties and dangers 583
in which they were involved during the voyage, but also by her [192]
voracious appetite in Bulotu, whence arises a proverbial expression
meaning to lick the platter clean, which in Tongan is to "lick like
Fai." Tongans, however, have no cause to regret her greediness, for, 776
having swallowed a yam in Bulotu, she returned to Tonga and gave
birth to a root that has been the progenitor of all the yams in these [824]
islands.

Haele-feke, literally "the Octopus comes," or "Coming in the [825]
Octopus," is a god which appeared in the octopus (*feke*). He is also called
Tutula, already mentioned as the companion of Faimalie and Faka-
fumaka in their journey to Bulotu. Haele-feke is the god of Motua-
buaka (lit. Old Pig), an important *matabule* of the Tui Kanokupolu,
and of Kioa, the head of a younger branch of the same clan. The [262]
clans of Motua-buaka and Kioa, inhabiting a cluster of villages in the
western district of Tongatabu, refrained from eating the small octopus
which is a favourite delicacy of the majority of Tongans.

The octopus god used to appear ashore in a pool called Kanakana. 776
It is said that he changed into a lizard when travelling overland.
When an octopus appeared in this pool it was at once recognised as 825
the god, and the priestess immediately went and awaited him at the [823]
shrine, apparently a little raised platform, whither presently the people
resorted with bunches of coconuts and plaited coconut leaves and 776
earth. The priestess spoke as the octopus, and from words used by 793
an informant would seem to have imitated an octopus, presumably [825]
sprawling out in the manner of this ungainly creature. [787]

The people of this deity not only eschewed in their own diet the
flesh of the octopus, but they must not approach a place where he was 776
being eaten. If any transgressed the *tabu* he was afflicted with 784

[262]
[827]

776 complete baldness, which, however, could be cured by suitable
supplications. Should any of the octopus people find one of their gods
[784] dead they gave him decent and ceremonious burial in Teekiu, their
[827] head village. With this god was connected the large cowrie shell
(*bule*), from whose movements auguries were read. The connection
[766] perhaps arises from the use of the shell in octopus-fishing, or both
[237] facts have a common origin. A cowrie-shell forms the centre of the
bait, which is furnished with artificial tentacles, and somewhat
[787] resembles an octopus. This on being lowered into the water is clasped
237 by the octopus, who is then hauled up and taken.

Fono-ki-tangata, the god of the chief Valu and his people in
226 Utulau, in the central part of Tongatabu. The "*fono*" is the food
776 served with *kava*, and "*fono ki tangata*" means to use human flesh in
276 this way. When the *kava* was presented to the god a human sacrifice
782 accompanied it.

Tui Fiji, literally king of Fiji, is the god of Haa-Vakatolo, whose
776 chief is Ahomee, a village near the eastern boundary of the western
part of Tongatabu. The sacred object of the Tui Fiji is the tree
776 called *fehi* (*vesi* in Fiji), whose hard wood was a favourite with the
makers of spears and canoes. This tree does not flourish in Tonga,
824 but there are some specimens at Haavakatolo, and it is asserted that
it is impossible to get it to grow elsewhere in the group. The *fehi*, or
vesi, flourishes in Fiji.

Tradition records that on one occasion as the Haavakatolo people
773 were about to fight a neighbouring folk Tui Fiji told them to place
between themselves and their enemies a large lump of the food
prepared by burying and fermenting certain fruits; in this case
plantain. The warriors then each ate a piece of this food. None who
had partaken of this sacramental meal was to turn aside to right or to
left, or to flee from the foe. Immunity from death or serious wound
lay in keeping straight ahead. With the dictates of caution thus
urging to bold frontal attack the braves of Haavakatolo scored a
signal victory.

Jiji and Fainga'a are two female divinities belonging to the
776 Falefa, a clan of great *matabules* attached to the Tui Tonga. An old
[773] story relates their unfortunate love for a handsome yellow-haired
Samoan named Bajikole ("Folk-Lore," Vol. XXVI.). Their sacred
776 creature is the heron (*motuku*), the dark-coloured heron being the
825 incarnation of Jiji, and the light-coloured of Fainga'a. In Tonga a
pair of herons flying together, one dark and the other light-coloured,
are called Jiji and Fainga'a. It is said that formerly a pair of herons
so differentiated was no uncommon sight, but it is rarely seen now.

776 Finau-tau-iku, a god whose habitat was in the eastern end of
Tongatabu, near the chief residence of the Tui Tonga. His priest
[799] was named Mohe-ke-fie-hua (Sleep to Jest?). He is spoken of as a

825 The *kanahe* (mullet), the sacred creature of the clan called Fainga'a,
613 *matabules* of the Tui Tonga. These *matabules* are descended from the
hero Tui Motuliki, who was the son of the Fijian woman Sinailele
644 (this name is perhaps connected with Hina, the widely recognised
779 Polynesian goddess), and the bones of the dead Maui Atalanga and
Maui Kijikiji. Tui Motuliki was even mightier than the great Maui,
and whilst yet a child performed the most amazing prodigies of
773 strength and valour. The mullet was from infancy sacred (*tabu*) to
825 him, and an old tale relates that he prohibited its use as food by any
man. When he came from Fiji to Tonga he brought his *tabu* with
784 him, and the Tui Tonga is said to have extended the prohibition on
262 eating it to all the men of Tonga. There seems to be no remembered
custom to support this tradition so far as full-grown mullet is concerned, though there is corroboration of the statement that the young
mullet (called *te'efo*) was *tabu* to the men.

825 The *veka* (rail) was the god of Manumus, a chief on the island of
Eua. It was also the god of Motuku-vee-valu (Eight-legged-heron),
776 a chief in the west of Tongatabu, and the father of Muni, of whom
773 exploits are related very similar to those of Maui. It is said that
Motuku-vee-valu and his descendants were chiefs in the west of
Tongatabu before the present Haa-Ngata lords. This, if true, is a
825 very interesting statement. The rail figures prominently in the story
[779] of Muni, guiding the hero, who had been cast into the sea at birth
and was completely unknown to his father, to the old gentleman as he
was hiding from his foe Bunga (coral), the chief of Eastern Tongatabu.
[794] Those who belonged to the rail cult used to take the bird about
with them. This practice is indicated in the story of the birth of the
[773] beautiful Vae.

The *lulu* (owl) is mentioned as sacred to a family group in
[644] Haapai who belonged to the Falefa, already noticed as *matabules* of the
Tui Tonga. Possibly it was sacred to all the Falefa. In passing it
[551] may be remarked that Falefa seems to mean "wide-spread," "widely
ramified," like the water flowing on all sides from the pandanus (*fa*) in
a heavy rain.

825 The best remembered feature of the owl's supernatural functions is
its habit of revealing the pregnancy of women. If the owl hooted near
843 a house in the afternoon it was known that there was a pregnant
woman in that household. The meddlesome bird never blurted out its
news unless for some reason the lady were keeping her interesting
condition a secret, or were as yet unaware of it herself.

825 The hooting of an owl near a house late at night was a sign that
[787] some disaster would befall the unlucky home.

Toke-i-Moana, that Eel-in-the-Open-Sea, was the god of Uiha in
[643] Haapai, whose chief is Malubo. On his mother's side King George
Tubou I. was connected with this family. Two of the king's sons are
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painful, but the next day I walked about without the least twinge. 752
I asked her how she knew where to rub. She replied that she just 759
rubbed. "Well," I said, "How did you learn to do it?" "By
doing it," she answered, "my father used to make me go and do it
for people." And that was all the explanation she was able to give.
At another time I was cured of a strain in the groin by a man who
just pressed the top of his thumb gently on the strain, so gently that
I thought he was afraid of hurting me: but I was quite well in a
few hours.

The trouble with the Tongan practitioners is that they have little 757
or no idea of diagnosing a complaint. They just try one thing after 759
another, and the massaging, excellent as it is, is frequently employed
where it is not only useless, but even dangerous. Diagnosis is
replaced by a series of trials and failures; as the Tongans say,
"We'll have a try." If one thing does not show quick results, try
another. A man went to a missionary and asked for medicine for a
little girl. "She is very ill indeed," he said, "yesterday we gave
her seventeen sorts of medicine and she is not better yet." Different
practitioners have their own special remedies. One medicine man, or
woman, after another, tries his cure, till one is found which gives
promise of success, which shows a "sign," or until death cuts short
the experiment, and gives a verdict which is accepted with pious
resignation as the will of the Lord.

Nor are efforts at cure confined to the person of the patient. 775
Neglect of the dead is a fruitful source of discomfort and sickness to 753
the living. Many ghosts, however, do not seem to merit so much
fear as pity. Certainly there are bad-tempered ghosts, who are the
ghosts of bad-tempered people pretty often, but frequently the dead
cause annoyance to the living to draw attention to their own miseries.
The root of a tree has grown through the head of a buried corpse, 775
and a living relative suffers from headache. Of course the cause of 753
the trouble may not be located at once. The living sufferer has 769
recourse to one treatment after another. All is unavailing. At length
the cemetery may be tried. The grave is opened, the root cut out,
and the headache disappears. It happens, in the cases of this sort
of which I have heard, the patient has generally, if not always been
a woman, and the suffering corpse, or ghost, that of an elderly female
relative. Sometimes a rearrangement of the buried bones sets
everything right, and effects a cure. This ghostly physic is not
effective only in cases of headache. The woman who so courageously
bore the loss of a rib made good recovery, except for a small hole
which refused to close up. It did not occasion any real discomfort,
but naturally she preferred to be without it. An investigation of her
mother's bones was at length decided upon; but I have not heard
whether it has been carried out. The inconsiderate affection of the 775
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775 dead may cause much trouble to the living. The poor ghost longs
for companionship that it has lost, and wanders forth to seek its old
787 friends, and induce them to come with it. It enters, or approaches,
the body of a living friend, usually by the way a hysterical woman,
and she may become so violent and excited that several people are
required to hold her. A girl in this condition gave a man a good
bite in the side; but this exhibition of her powers did not deter him
from afterwards marrying her. Perhaps the possessed woman may
lie inert, taking no notice of what is said to her. She may tell the
onlookers that so-and-so wants her to go with her. One way of
treating the trouble is to knead the patient with the knuckles, to
press the intruder out. I know a man who chased a ghost round the
body of a woman with hot-water packs.

775 Fainting fits may be due to the attentions of ghosts. A person in
753 a faint is said to be *mate*, dead. I have heard an unconscious child
[761] spoken of as distant, or away; apparently the soul was away.

[774] Massage is not the only remedy. There are leaves which are
potent layers of ghosts. Tongan treatment is homœopathic, and the
775 effective leaves have a strong smell. They are said to *namu tevolo*,
755 smell like a ghost or spirit; consequently they have the power of
757 scaring off ghosts. A decoction is made of the leaves, and the juice
787 pressed into ears, eyes, nostrils and mouth, and perhaps rubbed on
the body. Ghosts cannot pass the barrier thus set up. There seems
to be no apprehension lest the ghost be imprisoned inside the patient.
When the patient weeps quietly that is a sign of recovery. Her
tears are in sorrowful farewell to her dead friend who is leaving her.

Procedure is simplified by the patient's telling the name of the
ghost. The sick girl may not herself know who it is that is so
unkindly affectionate, but sometimes she sees the ghost in a dream
775 or in a waking vision, or recognises its voice. Armed with this
769 identification of the intruder, friends visit the grave, and beseech the
dead to leave the living alone. There in not a set form of words to
be used; respectful remonstrance, threat, anything is in order that
may be supposed to be effective. Sometimes the grave is opened and
medicine leaves put on the body. A very drastic remedy is to pour
boiling sea-water on the grave, though this is not necessarily more
effective than turning the bones about and mixing them up. If the
head is put where the feet ought to be, and the legs where one would
expect to find the head, the cleverest ghost is unable to get itself
775 sorted out and in shape for walking. Ghostly visitations are not
always an occasion of sickness. They may be manifested in mysterious
lights. People are rather ashamed of having their dead
relatives walking about. Neighbours are inclined to judge harshly,
and to conclude that the spirit is failing to make good its entry into
heaven, and is exhibiting a not unnatural reluctance to take the final

to indicate the attitude of mind of the church members. 795
Needless to say the case has its heathen parallels.

Although the worship of the ancient deities is dead, 795
nevertheless there was living in Tongatapu Island in 1921, 178
one Kautai, who had only a few months before been installed 793
as priest of the shark-god Taufa. Though the worship of
Taufa has perished and his sanctuary is no more, still the [554]
title of his priest lives, each patrilinear successor having the
title conferred on him by the reigning monarch. The present
Kautai is a good Roman Catohlic. This perpetuation 178
of ancient titles is common in Tonga. Ancient powerful 554
chiefs are represented to-day by individuals bearing the
same titles, but utterly shorn of power.

Three ancient deities still manifest themselves. One is 776
Fehuluni, a disembodied human spirit, who sometimes ap- 787
pears as a male, sometimes as a female, and usually in a
siren role. A native fired at a feminine manifestation of
this deity with a shot gun, only to find a dead lizard at the
spot where the apparition was seen.

Another deity much feared is the lizard god Tui Haa 776
Fakafanua. His headquarters in Tongatabu are within 784
Catholic precincts. where was formerly his sacred pool. Con-
vent girls shun the spot, for the evil reputation of the god
for causing feminine ills still lives.

Seketoa, a fish god of Niuatoputapu Island, has been 776
much in evidence in recent years. His incarnation is a great
fish which follows boats near Niuatoputapu. His presence
in those waters is unimpeachably attested by both Tongan
and European observers.

The royal tombs of Tonga are truncated, terraced 764
pyramids, anciently of enormous blocks of coral sandstone.
In recent decades the material utilized has been concrete. [178]
Tongans will not walk over a royal tomb, no matter how [769]
ancient.

Graves of commoners are marked by little terraced 764
mounds decorated with a mosaic of small stones of different 531
colours. To-day the designs are more intricate than
anciently, the coloured linoleum and title advertisements of [177]
magazines having furnished ideas for new geometric de-
signs.

Ghosts now and then manifest themselves as of old. 775
In 1921, a Catholic girl, gathering shellfish with women on

this case was surrounded with peculiar interest, 797
and its ultimate results were uncommon. Imme- 123
diately at the close of the service, I went to the 159
house of Moala, where the following conversation
ensued between myself and the new believer :—

"Hafoka, I am very glad to see you here, and to find that you have resolved to abandon heathenism. But, tell me all about it. How is it you have come to this place?"

"It is true," replied he, "here I am; and I have come to be a Christian. I have been a wicked man. I have been a persecutor. But, now I have bowed the knee to Jehovah. I have forsaken all I possessed, so that I may serve God. I had many friends in Houma. My wife and children, lands and property, are there; but, I have forsaken them all, that I might come and worship God here!"

"Well," continued I, "what led you to leave 797
them, and so suddenly too?" 123

"I can scarcely tell you," was his reply. "For 787
weeks I heard, as it were, a voice within me, say- 159
ing, 'Hafoka, rise, and leave this place; go to the
Christians.' Day and night that voice seemed to
speak to me: I became very uneasy and unhappy.
At length, I could bear it no longer; and resolved,
if possible, to know what it meant. And, now, I
understand it all: it was the voice of God; and I
am sure that He has led me amongst this people.
Once I was dead, but now I am a living man. I
cannot return to heathenism; and, if my wife and
children will not come to me, then I am even con-
tent to lose all for the sake of Jesus Christ."

In the mean time, the absence of Hafoka from 797
Houma, and then the discovered fact of his con- 159
version, created a great commotion among the

he himself, in his high sphere as a king, became a 797
Christian evangelist, and how largely and effectively 643
he employed the labour of his own subjects
in the vineyard of the Lord. But how was he
taught this great lesson? How did his proud and
haughty mind become docile, and submissive, to
instruction and spiritual guidance, even from an
inferior among his own subjects? Let us consider
how this change was brought about.

After rejecting the offer of a native teacher, Taufa-ahau,
like Naaman of old, went back to his home
greatly disappointed, if not wroth, and saying in his
heart concerning the Missionary for whom he had
sought, "Behold, I thought, he would surely come
out to me, and stand, and call on the name of the
Lord his God." In this chafed spirit he sailed for 797
Haabai; himself, or, at all events, his heathen crew, 643
still invoking the propitious aid of heathen deities for 484
the voyage. A storm, however, arose, of no ordinary 132
description, and, for two days, it was doubtful
whether the canoe would ever reach the land
in safety. That outer storm produced another of a
different sort, and of even greater moment, within
the soul of Taufa-ahau. He set it down as a Divine [787]
judgment upon himself for rejecting the offer made
by the Missionaries of a native teacher. Having
reached Haabai after great exertions, it was not
long before he revisited Tongatabu, chiefly for the
purpose of asking for the very man whom he had
formerly rejected. With him he returned to
Haabai,—a heathen still, but an earnest and humble
inquirer after truth.

Peter Vi was the honoured man whom the Missionaries 797
employed as the very first native herald 643
of salvation among his own people; and he it was

539 man; and who will say that the people of Haabai
797 will be content to imitate him, or pay heed to
643 his religion? He shall not go.' In consequence
of this, I remained, at that time, in Tonga. But after the canoes sailed for Haabai, a storm arose, by which the canoes were almost wrecked. They were driven about for two days, before they were able to reach Haabai. Very soon after that Taufaahau returned again to Tonga, and that time he himself went to the Missionaries to beg that I might be allowed to return with him to Haabai. It was, therefore, arranged that I should go. I did not, however, go in the king's own canoe, but in that of the chiefs Tufui and Mafileo. On the voyage, the king's canoe went straight forward to the island of Uiha; but our canoe stopped at Mago, where we slept.

539 "While at Mago, it was reported that the great
chiefs of Haabai were much troubled at what Taufa-
797 ahau had done; and that they were very angry
578 against the chiefs Tufui and Mafileo for bringing
me in their vessel. Upon hearing this report, Tufui was afraid, and wished us not to go forward to Lifuka, but to make our escape to Fiji. But I said to him, 'Don't do anything like that; let us rather pray to the Lord to lead us.' We then sailed for Lifuka; but, when we had gone as far as Haafeva, Tufui once more wished us to sail away to Fiji, and again I hindered him by saying, 'No;
539 but let us first pray to the Lord.' Nevertheless,
797 the chiefs and crew of the *kalia*, being heathens,
578 agreed to perform a divination, by which to ascertain whether there would be much danger to us if we
787 went to Lifuka. The sign obtained from the divination was this: if our danger was great, we were

to see, on our approaching the shore, a chief 539
called Tuuhetoka sitting in the act of reverent 797
worship by the seaside. When, therefore, we drew 578
near to Lifuka, so it happened. Tuuhetoka *was* [787]
there on the shore, doing lowly reverence. Upon
seeing him, the heathens said among themselves,
'Alas! it is true; we shall have to fly.' But when 539
the canoe had reached the land, I told them all to 797
remain on board, while Tufui, Mafileo, and 643
myself, went to see the king, Taufa-ahau. As
soon as he saw us approaching, he smiled upon us,
and I said within myself, 'Thanks! the Lord has
given me favour.' After some conversation, he
said to us, 'It is said, friends, that the chiefs here [578]
are angry; but never mind them; let us go and
seek for a house where Peter may lodge.'

"On the first Sabbath day, while going to
preach, two women mocked me in the road, and
said many evil things about me. Many and great
were my trials and the false reports that were spread
about me at that time; but the Lord filled the
mind of the King Taufa-ahau with great love to
me. He took lessons from me in reading; but he
had not yet begun to worship God. After I had 539
been living with him some little time, he said to 797
me one day, 'Come, Peter, let us go and seek the 643
god Haehaetahi, that I may talk with him, and 771
make him a present of *kava.*' Accordingly, we 776
went on our journey to Foa, where the god's priestess
dwelt. As we went along, the king told me he
was going to do the god some mischief. He then
pulled up a young banana tree; and, after cutting
it into the shape of a club, he said, 'I will strike
the devil-god with this.' I then said, 'Don't
strike with the root, lest you kill the old woman,'

539 (the god's attendant priestess, or shrine.) He then
797 cut off the hard portion of the root, and said, at
643 the same time holding up the stem, 'There, then,
771 I will strike only with this.'

776 "When we arrived at the place to present the *kava* of the god, the old priestess said, 'Haehaetahi is not here:' upon which Taufa-ahau replied, 'Perhaps the god is vexed with me because of this great garland of flowers;' (referring to some upon his own person;) 'but let him forgive, and return hither, that we may drink *kava* together.' Hereupon the
● [787] old priestess became inspired by Haehaetahi; and,
in the meanwhile, Taufa-ahau had prepared a great drinking-cup, large enough for four persons to drink from; for he knew, he said, that 'Haehaetahi was a god fond of drink.' The cup was then filled and handed by Taufa-ahau to the priestess; but, while her face was turned upwards, in the act of drinking off its contents, Taufa-ahau struck her a great blow on the forehead, which sent the god (or priestess) rolling on the ground. He then gave another blow, and, raising a shout of victory, cried out that the god was slain. Owing to this act, no god was again willing to appear openly throughout Haabai. The whole fraternity of gods were afraid lest they should be beaten like Haehaetahi; for, from that time, Taufa-ahau became very mischievous to them all.

539 "But the following was the manner, and the occa-
797 sion, of the king's first open profession of Christianity.
There came a request to me, from a certain chief,
643 that I would go and burn a sacred tree, that so he
[778] might be at liberty to cut it up, and use it in build-
ing his canoe. As I went along, some women asked, 'Where is the man of prayer going?' So

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MATERIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF TONGAN AND SAMOAN GODS.

BY TE RANGI HIROA.

T
INTRODUCTORY.

S THE Tongans and Samoans of western Polynesia
171 resembled other groups in southern, central, eastern,
and northern Polynesia in having gods, priests, and places
where religious observances were carried out.

T The gods varied in origin, sphere of influence, and
S power. Their power was confined to a family group or
171 extended to tribes, villages, districts, or even to one or
776 more islands. In general principle, the gods were regarded
as something intangible without innate material form.

T The priest was the human medium between the god
S and the followers of the god. The office was usually
171 hereditary and carried out the transmitted ritual and
793 observances that placated the god and induced it to use
supernormal influence on behalf of the devotees. A visible
T manifestation of the formless god was apparent when an
S inspired priest was affected with a convulsive seizure
171 attributed to the god entering his human medium to make
793 known his decisions or commands. In such cases, the priest
787 was regarded as a material receptacle and was hence termed
a *waka* (canoe or receptacle) in New Zealand and a *pi'a
atua* (god-box) in Mangaia. The inspirational technique
was used throughout Polynesia but not all priests were
convulsive receptacles nor did all gods assume this method
of visible manifestation.

T The official places for making divine contact varied
S considerably. Certain gods were represented by rocks or
171 trees, and a simple ritual such as the offering of a branch
778 or a pebble or the muttering of a short formula was carried
[788] out even by the laity when such sites were passed. For
T more important deities and occasions, special structures
S were constructed, the offerings assumed greater value
171 culminating in some regions in human sacrifices, the
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ANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GODS.

From the earliest times, man has observed the move- T
ments of animals and birds and drawn deductions from S
them. Sometimes the deductions were quite rational and 171
assisted materially in the prosecution of the food-quest. 825
The Polynesian fisherman observed the actions of flocks of
sea-birds and deduced from them that they were following
shoals of young fish. He joined in the chase, knowing
from experience that shoals of bonito would also be follow-
ing beneath in the water and would take his pearl-shell
lure in mistake for fish. The voyager noted the flight
of sea-birds in a certain direction in the evening and
deduced that land lay in that direction, for experience had
taught him that even sea-birds prefer to rest on land at
night. Other interpretations of movements do not appear
so rational, such as those with a supernatural association.
Animals and birds were somehow credited with being
influenced by supernatural causes more readily than man.
Movements of living things were thus interpreted to indicate T
whether or not the individual person or group would be S
successful in the particular quest which occupied attention
at the time. The attitude toward such phenomena as the 171
movements of living things was a general vague idea of 787
luck, good or bad. In Polynesian society, the attitude was
more definitely connected with the spiritual concept that
the immaterial gods influenced the movements of living
bodies to convey messages to their followers. Usually
movements in the same direction were favourable while
movements in the opposite direction were unfavourable.
Movement or appearance on a particular side was favourable
while on the opposite side the effect would also be opposite.
A further step was taken when families and groups selected T
certain living things to represent their specific god. The S
living object thus became the animate representative of 171
their immaterial god and the god's communications were 776
evidenced by the appearance, movements, or sounds, that
the living representative made. Another step in elaboration T
took place when on occasions the god was regarded as being S
actually present in the living representative, much in the 171
same way that the god took possession of the inspirational 776
priest. Bird-representatives usually acted as messengers 778
without the god being in temporary residence. The living

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Animate Representative	Tonga	Samoa
Fowl	-	4
Kingfisher	1	2
Heron	2	1
Snipe	1	-
Tern	1	1
Manuali'i	1	1
Kaleva	1	-
Fuia	-	1
Turtle	-	5
Stingray	-	2
Octopus	2	7
Shark	5	-
Eel	1	4
Sea-eel	2	4
Sea-snake	2	-
Mullet	1	5
Vete	1	-
Cockle	-	1
Shell-fish *(fuhu)*	1	-
Sea-urchin	-	1
Land crab	-	1
Lizard	2	3
Centipede	-	2
Butterfly	-	1
	31	64

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Human form occurred with three gods in Tonga and with five in Samoa. These were spiritual or ghostly forms and cannot be classed as animate representatives, even though they were credited with movement. The human living representative was strictly speaking the inspirational priest when possessed by the god.

T
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[793]
[787]

Natural phenomena in the form of the moon (3), rainbow (2), star (1), lightning (1), and cloud (1), occurred in Samoa as representatives of the gods, but they have not been recorded for Tonga by the authorities consulted. Though not living representatives, they could yet convey information from their appearance and apparent movement.

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Some representatives such as sea-urchins and shell-fish were probably merely taboo to the god or, in other words, could not be eaten by the god's worshippers.

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(To be continued.)

[pp. 54-84 not processed]

Another native, commenting on sexual breaches, remarked that a man 684
who violated the wife of a great chief would be slain by his own [565]
people. There would seem to be little doubt that if any such hardy
lover escaped the vengeance of mortals his offence would not pass
unnoticed of the unseen powers. In fact an instance of this sort was
recently related to Mr. Gifford and myself. A man of considerable 684
rank had gone from the island of Eua to Tongatabu and was living 539
in close and friendly connection with the reigning Tui Tonga. The
latter went on a voyage to Haapai shortly after one of his wives (not
the chief wife) had given birth to a child, leaving the mother and
babe to the care of the Euan whose relations with his fair charge
soon became too fond and intimate. As a consequence of his wife's
frailty the Tui Tonga found on his return that the child had fallen
ill. The secret of the guilty pair had, however, not yet been divulged, [787]
and recourse was had to the lot, by spinning a coconut, to discover
the person whose wrong-doing was responsible for the royal infant's
alarming condition. The lot fell between the Tui Tonga himself and
his unfaithful spouse. The next spin brought the guilt right home
to the woman who confessed her sin. The story ends in a manner
to satisfy the most susceptible reader of love romances. Not only
did the Tui Tonga forgive the lady, but he bestowed both her and the
infant on the successful lover, and all three removed to Eua where
the child became the progenitor of a line of chiefs. It was apparently 837
no uncommon thing for a village to choose a handsome girl to take 565
to a high chief that she might bring back to them a chiefly child.
Such a child was called by a word indicating that he was not so much [851]
the possession of an individual mother as of the whole village or
family group.

The consequences attendant on illicit love affairs are often illustrated today. 588
Not infrequently a man and woman who do not desire to marry, or are unable to because of some previous union, take an oath of mutual fidelity on the Bible. Various circumstances may make them desire to be rid of this bond. Perhaps if the woman is married one of her legitimate children falls ill. One of the parties themselves, or one or other of their relatives, may become sick, or die. Although no entanglements of this sort may be impeding the course

of true love, errant fancy may have been attracted by some other 588
charmer. In all cases the procedure is the same. Recourse is had [797]
to a white missionary or native pastor to dissolve the oath. In the [793]
cases that have come to my own notice the clergy, European and
Tongan, have refused to be parties to this superstitious use of the
Bible, and have sent the suitors away with a little healthy advice.

In reference to murder Mariner remarks, "An old mataboole used 682
to say, that useless and unprovoked murder was highly offensive to 776
the gods, and that he never remembered a man guilty of it but who
either lived unhappily, or came to an untimely end." The gods sometimes
turned peevish for less weighty reasons than wanton homicide.
Soon after the introduction of Christianity into Tongatabu, and before 776
it had spread throughout the whole island, Boiboi, the chief of 753
a still heathen district, became very ill, and was carried on a stretcher 787
to the priest of his god. After a time the priest was seized by the 793
convulsive movements which indicated his possession by the deity,
and then informed the waiting assembly that the god had been away
in a different part of the island at a single-stick match, but had now
returned. He had been very angry with Boiboi because the latter
used to make an insulting gesture with his eyes, but he was now reconciled
to him, and the chief would recover. Boiboi honored the declaration
by an immediate recovery, and rising from the stretcher he
went off quite well.

MANA

GENERAL REMARKS

Another important conception, shared by the Tongans with their 778
neighbors of the Pacific, is that of mana. Whilst tabu inculcates the
duty of man towards the occult, mana indicates the mysterious forces
in operation. The range covered by this idea is very wide, and there
has sometimes been a tendency to dogmatize too positively on the
inability of peoples at the Tongan level of culture to conceive abstractions.
Mana is rendered in English as a wonder or miracle, and is
employed in this sense in the vernacular version of the Bible. It is [821]
a common word for thunder. An adjective (*mana'ia*) containing [832]
this root is used of a man who is especially attractive to women. It

It probably occurs in the word for breath (*manava*), which again is 778
used of the womb, though apparently without strict anatomical precision. [826]
This same word is found in compounds meaning fear [827]
(*manava-jii* "little manava or breath," *manava-he* "wandering
manava"), and courage (*manava-lahi* "great manava"). Taking
this class of words together the primary significance of mana seems
to be living power or force, and the word for breath and womb perhaps
means the place or seat of this power or force.

OMENS

The occult forces of the universe frequently manifest themselves 787
as warnings to mankind, and hence arises one of the commonest uses [778]
of the word mana, namely an omen. Many of these omens are still
known and more or less believed in. A considerable number are 787
concerned with impending calamity to a chief. Usually of course 565
the portent would occur in a locality or in an object which had some
relation to the threatened lord. In the island of Uiha in Haapai is [823]
a spring which turned red as a warning of the approaching death of
the chiefs connected with that place. A rock in the western district [823]
of Tongatabu indicated in some way a similar catastrophe. The [824]
breaking off, in calm weather, of branches of the banyan tree is an
omen of the death of a great chief. The large tree in eastern Tongatabu [824]
under which Captain Cook addressed the natives fell down a [643]
few years ago, and this proved to be an omen of the death of the
late King George II, though His Majesty survived the tree by about
two years. The roaring of the sea on the wide flats skirting a good [823]
length of the shore of western Tongatabu is also the sign of the death
of a chief. At the time of the death of King George I there was an [821]
unusually protracted spell of rainy weather. This too was mana, [643]
though apparently not so much an omen of the king's approaching
end as a sympathetic disturbance of the supernatural powers accompanying
the passing of this truly great man. Some still affirm that [825]
this king's death was presaged by the approach of a great shoal of
fish to the coast of Tongatabu. At Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, 787
the village of the high chief Ata, are several casuarina trees where 565
the flying-foxes are protected by a tabu. These trees with their clus- 825

ters of animal fruitage have often been photographed, and are widely 787 known. Tradition speaks of a white flying-fox whose appearance is 565 the sign of the approaching death of Ata. The other flying-foxes 825 give this uncanny visitor wide elbow room. The tradition of the occasional appearance of a white flying-fox is correct, as the present Ata has seen no less than three—the last no longer ago than last year. This last one, maimed by a broken wing, fell into the possession of Ata himself, who was tending it, purposing on its recovery to present it to the queen, but unfortunately dogs or pigs snipped its vital cord. Ata, who is a very robust and athletic man in young middle life, has manifested no alarming symptoms as a result of being honored by a visit from the ominous creature. A white flying-fox figures in an old story as being used for divination by Bunga, chief of Boha in eastern Tongatabu.

Mr. W. H. Murley of Haapai and Mr. Gifford of the University 565 of California have severally come across instances of fog being re- 787 garded as ominous of the death of a chief. Difference of opinion 821 evidently prevails as to the rationale of this portent. Mr. Murley, who is exceptionally well versed in Tongan custom and tradition, speaks of a mist on the sea as ominous, whilst very good native opinion has assured me that the mist only presages evil when it is over the land. Several birds are also ominous. Should a traveler 787 find a kingfisher persistently flying about him, that is a warning to 825 relinquish his journey and return home. The hooting of an owl in the evening near a dwelling is the publication of the pregnancy of a woman in the house. The crowing of a cock in the afternoon (perhaps early evening) is a harbinger of evil unless he be answered by another cock. The crying of the rail at night is an omen of death, [763] and the direction of his flight indicates the place in which the doomed person shall be buried. Mr. Murley notes that as he was sitting with a native a kingfisher entered the room, and his native friend became very uneasy at this circumstance as a portent of evil. Not only the kingfisher is thus ominous. Mr. Murley's friend informed him "that evil spirits come in with the rubbish, and lizards and rats as well as kingfishers." A similar instance came under my own observation. A *fuleheu* (*Ptilotis curunculata*) came into my room, and a native

girl who saw it told me it was a sign of bad luck, without however 787
appearing to attach much importance to the matter. It is not clear 825
whether her unconcern was due to her enlightenment, or to indifference to my fate, or to the hope that being a foreigner I should be able to pull through all right.

MANA OF MEN AND INSTRUMENTS

These manifestations in the seen world of purposes of the unseen 778
world are mana. These are merely a few examples picked up here and there, and doubtless the list could be much extended. But supernatural power may also reside in a tool or weapon and become a
mighty instrument in the hand of man. The club or spear of a great 411
warrior, for example, is the abode of mana. The club of the chief 778
Vahai was so charged with mana that it could not keep still, but was continually agitated by convulsive movements. Vahai kept this formidable weapon wrapped in a mat in his house and on one occasion sent a man to bring it to him. The messenger could see no club, only a bundle of mat agitated by an apparently living body, and returning to the chief told him that the only thing in the house was a child wrapped up in matting. The supposed child was of course none other than the club with its high power mana, and the man was again sent to fetch it.

Mana could be communicated from one person to another. If a weapon in which resided this supernatural force were borrowed the owner laid it across the open palm of the borrower, and then, getting a piece of the stem of the banana tree, rubbed and squeezed it in his own hands, thus expressing the juice. Then he rubbed the banana stem over the weapon and the open hand of the borrower. Vahai, the owner of the club just mentioned, conveyed to another chief, Takai, his own martial courage and prowess by performing a like
operation upon his body. In these examples the warrior himself 411
would seem to be primarily the source of the mana, thence conveyed 778 776
to the weapons which he victoriously wielded; but from other statements it appears that the weapon itself might receive an inspiration of mana direct from the gods. In the account of the voyage of the missionary ship *Duff* weapons are spoken of as placed in temples to

obtain the coveted power: "From this we passed to the other large 411
house which . . . was sacred to the God of Pretane, and in which 778
old Mumui sleeps when indisposed, in hopes of a cure. On the 776
floor were four large conch shells, with which they alarm the country in times of danger: and on the rafters were placed spears, clubs, bows and arrows, to receive from their imaginary deity supernatural virtue, to render them successful against their enemies." The Tongan philosopher was doubtless little troubled by questions as to whether the man gave the weapon the mana or the weapon gave it to the man. Traced to its ultimate source it was ever the gift of the gods.

APPARITIONS

The mana was occasionally a mysterious visitor from the other 787
world. As an example it was said that a man might suddenly see the 776
supernatural personage in his boat. The boatman would treat the apparition with the greatest respect, and set off home with as little delay as possible, convinced that some mishap had befallen. The recipient of such a visit would consider it a mark of divine displeasure, and would ask the sprite what wrong he had done, and why he was angry with him.

Mr. Murley's manuscript contains concrete examples of super-
natural visitations. In July, 1909, on the night before the death of [763]
Maealiuaki, a great chief, at the time governor of Haapai, a man and his wife who were fishing on the island adjoining that on which the sick chief lay at the point of death were much alarmed at the sight of a sailing-boat, brightly illuminated with various colored lights, rapidly approaching from the southeast. This was of course a mana of Maealiuaki's death. That year of 1909 was fertile in portents and fortunate in chroniclers, for another of Mr. Murley's informants told him that in that same month of July, 1909, a small boy in the island of Niua Foou received a visit from a stranger who asked him if he knew the reason of the frequent earthquakes. The child confessed his ignorance, pleading his extreme youth. With the sinister words, "Then thou wilt know, for in the month of September you people will not be able to eat for something dreadful will occur," the stranger departed as abruptly as he had come. As he turned to go the boy

was startled to see that he had wings. This last touch is probably 787
due to the influence of the Bible. Like a wise soothsayer this visitant, 776
though so precise with regard to months, allowed himself latitude in
years. In September, 1912, there was a volcanic outburst in Niua [133]
Foou, though not very serious and unattended by loss of life. This
doubtless is a suitable event to carry the responsibility of the doleful
vaticination regarding the month of September.

DIVINATION

The fact that supernatural forces and beings manifest themselves 787
through material agencies would invest with importance the office of 791
those who were skilled in reading the signs. One Tongan stated that
those who had no god to apply to had recourse to a diviner (*tongafiji*),
adding the interesting detail that there was aruspication by examination
of the blood of animals. Another said that he thought that each [793]
god had his own diviner, but the most trustworthy statements show
no evidence of a class of diviners attached to the gods apart from the
priests. A certain cowrie shell god used to give indications of his 787
will by movements, as by standing up on end. War clubs, presumably those kept in the temples, were consulted on the expediency of
going to war. If the club shook that was the god giving his vote for
war, but if it remained still that was a declaration against the opening
of hostilities. Whilst, however, the interpretation of the will of the 787
gods was the function of the priests, there were diviners (*tongafiji*) 791
who, without being priests or being attached in any special way to a [793]
particular god, were able to see what was distant in time and space.
The word *kikite* which is used of divination and foretelling seems to contain the same root as the word *kite* which is used of the appearance of anything at a distance, particularly of land showing up when one is out at sea. I have not been able to discover that these diviners were reputed to be inspired by any god, but they seem merely to have seen and declared things by some inward light of their own. A rather circumstantial account is preserved of a famous soothsayer named Hema who knew from the island of Eua the progress of a single-sticks match in Tongatabu in which a local champion was opposed by a mighty fighter from Eua. Hema kept the Eua people posted

on the progress of the contest with the promptness and certainty of a 787
wireless installation and had the melancholy duty of informing them 791
of the defeat of their own champion. His best remembered exploit was that of telling a chief the time at which a pet bird, which had flown away and was many days overdue, would return. Not content with the bald statement as to the day and time at which the chief would again see his bird he gave a detailed itinerary of the homeward flight.

A rather peculiar idea belonging to the same range of conceptions 787
is seen in the power asserted to have been possessed by the chief Loau 791
of Haamea in Tongatabu of knowing everything that was going on 565
everywhere. Loau occupies a unique place in Tongan history, for though he is undoubtedly a historical personage and is asserted to have left a deep and enduring mark on Tongan polity, no place is assigned him in any of the known chiefly families. He came none knows whence and departed none knows whither. His name is connected with the small district called Haamea near Nukualofa, but the spot within Haamea on which he lived is named Maananga, and it is said that quietly at home at Maananga he knew all that was going on elsewhere, whence the word *toka-i-maananga* (known in Maananga) is used of omniscience, and is so used today in Christian worship.

In passing it may be noted that the Tongans assert that there have 502
been navigators so skilful that they could tell their whereabouts when out of sight of land by dipping their hands into the sea and scooping up a little of the water. Looking at the sample of ocean the gifted mariner would say "This is the sea of Vavau," "of Tongatabu," and so forth, and thus get his bearings. The last man who possessed this power has not been dead many years.

The old story of Muni of the Torn Eye relates that Bunga (Coral), 787
a chief in the east of Tongatabu, had a white flying-fox which he 825
used for divination. When Muni, whose legendary exploits are 539
strongly reminiscent of those of the god Maui, visited with hostile intent the home of Bunga the latter was out at sea fishing. His flying-fox at once flew out to him, and Bunga, suspecting that matters of grave import were afoot, set himself a sign whereby he should know by the part of the boat on which the creature settled whether

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the omen were good or evil. The portent was of bad tidings, and 787
Bunga returned to shore with all possible speed to find that his harem 825
had been ravished (success in the feats of love, as in those of war, 539
being here as elsewhere a mark of the legendary hero), and two
great kava plants which had stood near his house torn up and carried
away. Bunga pursued Muni, but in the contest which followed he
was defeated though not slain.

Old travelers mention a wooden bowl used for divination. The 787
Introduction of the *Voyage of the Duff* in referring to Tasman's
visit says, "An elderly chief who seems at that time to have had
sovereign authority . . . was highly gratified by the presents made
him. Among them was a wooden bowl, probably the same that long [695]
afterwards was used by the sovereigns of Tongataboo as a divining
cup to convict persons accused of crimes; and the same homage which
is rendered to the sovereign when present was paid during his absence
to the bowl, as his representative." Later on in the same Introduction 643
it is stated that the king, dining with Captain Cook on board the lat- 784
ter's vessel, was presented by him with a pewter plate, which he said
he would substitute for the bowl "which had before sustained the
offices of chief justice and viceroy." This pewter plate was still in
use at the time of Mariner's residence in Tonga, and Mariner speaks
of it as used to remove the tabu from those who had come in contact
with the Tui Tonga. "If anyone is tabooed by touching the person
or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other chief can relieve him
from his taboo, because no chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid
the inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or
some such thing), belonging to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched,
instead of his feet. In Mr. Mariner's time, Tooitonga always left
a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by
Captain Cook." Probably the account of the bowl or dish representing the Tui Tonga in other affairs besides the removal of tabu
is correct. It should in any case be fairly easy to avoid incurring
tabu by contact with the Tui Tonga's person during his absence.

Augury of an informal sort was often resorted to much as it is 787
by some Europeans. The first native Christian teachers on their way 797
from Tongatabu to Haapai, which was still heathen, set themselves

as a sign that if they met a certain man wearing a ragged loin-cloth 787
they would know that they had to expect opposition. During the 797
time when Taufaahau (King George I) was hesitating between Chris- 643
tianity and heathenism a shark came alongside the boat in which he 787
was one day sailing. He seized his spear and made his throw an 797
augury. If he missed, the shark was the god Taufa-tahi (Taufa of
the Sea), but if his aim went true then it was just a shark. He
missed, and thereupon threw into the sea two native Christians who
were with him. The ancient Tui Tonga, Kauulufonua, in the midst 787
of his victorious career, declared on the eve of battle that in the coming fight his followers should know whether his prowess were the effect of his own might or of the protection of a god. If he were wounded in front he owed his victories to the god, but, if behind, to himself. The event showed that he owed his successes to his own courage and skill.

Mariner relates that the spinning of a coconut and observing its position when again at rest was a common method of interrogating the unknown, particularly as to the fate of sick persons. An instance of this has already been mentioned.

WITCHCRAFT

Something has been said of magic when speaking of tabu, but a 789
few further notes may be added. A non-malevolent but extremely 755
disgusting example of sympathetic magic was related to me by a friend. On one occasion whilst he was at sea and exceedingly seasick an old native, unable any longer to endure the sight of his distress, begged to be allowed to drink his vomit as a sure way of checking his sufferings. In my friend's case the mere suggestion threatened to be effective by depriving him once and for all of all the organs by virtue of which a man can be sea-sick.

But given magic there naturally follows man's effort to gain magi- 754
cal control over his fellows. The usual terms applied to the black art 755
in Tonga are *hangatamaki* and *fakalouakau.* An excellent note on 241
the former term is contained in Mr. Murley's manuscript. He points out that the word hangatamaki, which is very freely used in descriptions of illness, covers a large range of disorders, principally of the

split it open before throwing it away. An unsplit nut which had 754
been drunk would be a great find for the medicine man who could use 829
it to work spells on the drinker; but by opening it up one allows the
emanation from himself which entered at drinking to escape. One
is inclined to suppose that amongst the Tongans the Fijians enjoyed
a sinister reputation for preëminence in the black art.

Possession

An interesting comparison with Tongan belief is furnished by a 000
letter from the Rev. S. W. Brooks to the *Methodist Magazine* (1867, [113]
Pt. I, p. 462) written from Bue, Fiji, in August, 1865:

> Among the company there was one Abraham, a strange-looking man, perhaps fifty years old. He was covered with remarkable excrescences, varying in size from a pea to a fowl's egg. On questioning the simple-minded chief as to the cause of this, and the age of the man, I made out these two remarkable things: 1. That the devil was the cause, and it was because his father had given his mother a hatchet before the child's birth; 2. That he was a thousand years old.

The devil gets rather more than his due among primitive men.

The belief in demonic possession still obtains more or less amongst 787
the Tongans. A form of hysteria is in particular associated with a [158]
diabolic visit. There is a credit, however, to be entered against all
that is charged against the mischievous pranks of these other-worldly
visitors. A man, partly of Tongan and partly of Fijian blood, re- 000
lates that in Fiji there are those who are possessed by various gods, and whose supernatural power thus acquired is used for benevolent ends. They form a detective corps d'élite, of infallible efficacy in the tracing of stolen goods. Nor is their medical practice less availing. The fact that they sometimes console the patient with the assurance that he will die should be reckoned an indication of honesty rather than a confession of impotency. Their practice is clairvoyant diagnosis rather than magical healing, as they give practical assistance to the sick, sometimes by prescriptions of their own and sometimes by recommendations as to where they may obtain treatment. The narrator added that these possessed men and women were amongst the most zealous Christians, and noted for the exemplary goodness of their lives.

784 the suspects were led into the sea, for the guilty one
would be bitten by sharks under the direction of the
[681] gods.[13] Supernatural sanctions and the rigid system
[671] of taboos, which were early Tongan society's
substitute for a written code of laws, essentially
conditioned behavior through fear and quite
effectively controlled crime within the community
at large.[14]

Certain of the principal gods had wooden houses
778 of worship erected in their honor, usually on sacred
burial grounds. Priests, serving as intermediaries
793 between the gods and the people, would invoke a
787 god and would accept offerings in his behalf. Upon

[p 40-A]

793 787] invoking the god, a priest *(fa'ahikehe)* would sometimes convulse violently, and then, becoming temporarily inspired and possessed by the god, would prophesy and reveal the wishes of the god. Mariner described typical god-invoking sessions in the early 1800's, as witnessed by him, in the following way:

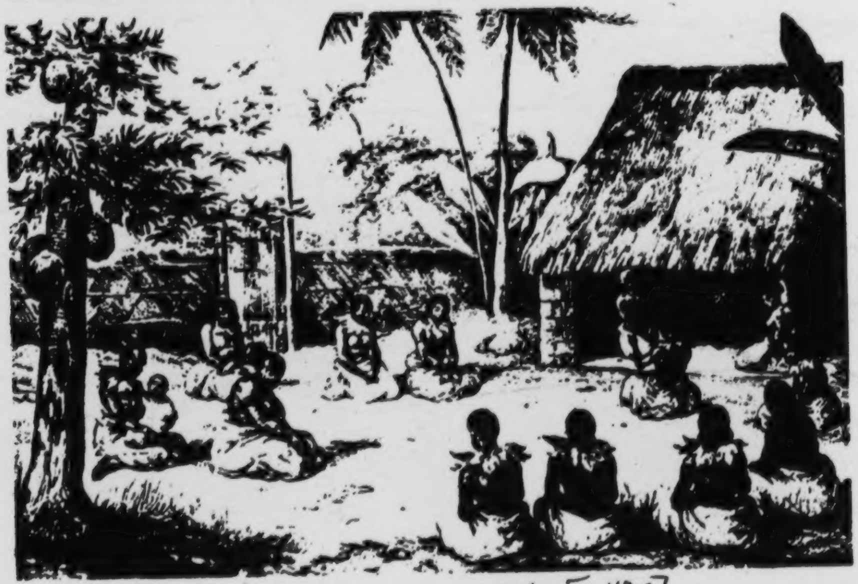
> "He [priest] remains for a considerable time in silence, with his hands clasped before him, his eyes cast down, and motionless . . . All that he says is supposed to be the declaration of the god, and he accordingly speaks in the first person as if he were the god . . . on some

[p. 40-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 41A]

793 **God consultation was a solemn rite** before the coming of Christianity. This engraving (1827)
787 depicts people on Tongatapu gathered in front of the house where a priest is beseeching the gods for mercy in the cure of the sick child at left in the photo.

782 **'I he kuonga mu'a, na'e fu'u malohi 'aupito 'a e faito'o fakalotu.** Ko e ta fakatata eni na'e fai 'i
785 Tongatapu 'i he 1827 lolotonga ha kole 'a ha fa'ahikehe pe taula'eiki ki he 'otua ke ne tapuaki'i mo fakamo'ui 'a e tamasi'i valevale 'aia 'oku ha mei he tafa'aki to'ohema 'o e ta.



[p. 40-c]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) · 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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787

occasions his countenance becomes fierce, and, as it were, inflamed, and his whole frame agitated with inward feeling. He is seized with an universal trembling; the perspiration breaks out on his forehead, and his lips, turning black, are convulsed; at length, tears start in floods from his eyes, his breast heaves with great emotion, and his utterance is choked. These symptoms gradually subside. Before this paroxysm comes on, and after it is over, he often eats as much as four hungry men . . . At length he suddenly raises the club, and, after a moment's pause, strikes the ground . . . Immediately the god leaves him . . ."[15]

If such a prophesy later turned out to be untrue, the

[p.41-A]

793 people, rather than blaming the priest, assumed that
the god had merely changed his mind or had
787 purposely deceived the priest.[16] There were
787 reportedly also times when gods or spirits visited
and inspired persons other than priests.[17]

Every family clan in early Tonga was under the
776 guardianship or protection of a god. At times, a god
613 took possession of an animal or object in order to
communicate a message to human beings. Some of
825 the living representatives used in this way by the
776 gods included the shark, octopus, sea eel, quail,
[262] lizard and flying fox;[18] this explains why certain
[782] species of animals were considered sacred in the past
and thus, were not killed and eaten without a
portion first being offered to the gods.

[p.141-B]

778 Among the objects in which some gods chose to abide were weapons, fine mats, and smaller things such as whales' teeth, seashells and stones which were usually wrapped in tapa cloth smeared with the yellow juice of turmeric *(enga)*.[19] These articles were kept in the house of the god represented by each particular object, and were displayed by the priest only when worshippers came to pray and make offerings.

787 In the past, gods were consulted for any number

[p.42-B]

787 of reasons, for example, before going on a long
journey, prior to deciding on battle strategies, or
more commonly, in the event of illness.[20] One quite
782 prevalent early ritual, called *tutunima,* involved the
755 amputation of a joint of the little finger as a
sacrifice to the gods for the recovery of a sick
[175] relative or chief. Anders Sparrman, the physician
aboard *H.M.S. Resolution* with Captain Cook, noted
in 1773 while visiting Tonga: "In these islands we
found scarcely one person of either sex or any age

[p. 42-C]

782 Bulotu in their favour. Sometimes the priest would
remain silent; at other times he would object that
782 their gifts were too small. If he spoke at all, he
spoke as the god, being supposed to be 'possessed'
793 by the god at the moment. John Thomas says
(Farmer's *Tonga*, 128): 'Often there was another
[787] person present, the friend of the god, who acted as
mediator, and addressed the priest on behalf of the
offerers.' Hingano, a chief lady of great age,
described to the present writer how she and others
would take baskets of food to the door of Taliai
Tubou's temple in Nuku'alofa, and, bowing down,
would implore the god's favour. Shortly a white
(*sic*) foot would be protruded from beneath a
curtain, which they would kiss and then retire.

782 If their object was to deprecate a calamity, as in
a case of sickness, the rite assumed a darker hue.
Fingers were cut off, wrapped in banana leaves,
and presented; or children were strangled, and
their bodies brought as a sacrifice. When prayers
were offered to Fonokitangata, the sacrifice was
[793] always an adult. Generally a man obnoxious to
the community was hunted down and killed, and
his body brought in a basket and laid before the
priest; but Mariner speaks of a chief of rank
782 being killed in one instance. The offerers, clothed
in old and dirty mats, and wearing necklaces of
793 chestnut leaves, would squat on the ground at a
distance, and weep and beat their breasts, while
the priest, holding in his hand a war club, the
shrine of the god, would listen to their prayers
with his eyes fixed upon the club or upon the
793 ground. Sometimes he would reply in his ordinary
voice, but more often in unnatural tones, as
787 if some one were speaking in him; and frequently
he would begin to shake as if in a fit, and to roll
about and foam at the mouth. Any words he
might utter whilst in this condition were eagerly
caught up as the direct utterances of the god.
After a while the shaking would cease, and the
priest, striking the ground with the club, would
announce that the god had departed. Mariner
(vol. i. p. 160) has a good description of this kind
of possession; and he evidently thought that the
phenomena were not altogether voluntary, but
that a real possession of some kind took place—
a belief which was shared by some of the earlier
missionaries.

775 4. The Tongans believed in the immortality of
the soul. Mariner, Veeson, and Thomas are
779 agreed on this point.

> Veeson says (Farmer's *Tonga*, p. 131): 'One day they were conversing about a person that was lately dead, and said, "He goes to the island through the sky." "How can he be," said I, "in that place, when he is dead, and his body here? Did you not bury him some moons ago?" But all they answered was, "But he is still alive." And one took hold of my hand, and, squeezing it, said, "This will die, but the life that is within you will never die"—with his other hand pointing to my heart.'

775 Mariner and Veeson, too, agree in stating that
this immortality is enjoyed only by the upper
565 classes: the souls of the Tu'as, or common people,
die with their bodies. This, no doubt, was the
779 belief of the upper classes, who looked down upon
the Tu'as as little better than animals; but it is
no evidence of the belief of the Tu'as themselves.
Thomas says more truly: 'Of the faith of the
common people there was no certainty.'

775 The 'island' referred to was called Bulotu, and
'through the sky' meant 'over the horizon.'
779 Bulotu is, the present writer thinks, a primitive
Polynesian word, and is the name for Paradise in
all the dialects. It was situated west or north-west
of Tonga, and could be reached by sea. At
least the ballads speak of canoes touching there;
but how the disembodied spirits got there is not
stated. Mariner tells us (vol. ii. p. 101) that
Bulotu was believed by the Tongans to be a
large island, stocked with all kinds of useful and

> 127 797 the vault in which they were afterwards to be deposited.
> 565 When Bro Thomas waited on the Sick Chief he found him
> 765 fully determined to choose his idols. He said it was
> very well for us and Tubou and the people to serve our
> God; but as for him he was fully satisfied to worship
> his own God and that he and his people therefore should
> continue to choose to their heathenish ceremonies. The
> [776] god that this Chief principaly worships died about 20
> years since whose bones are now removed; and it is also
> [775] as firmly believed that that he inspires the present
> chief that is, that he comes and communicates with him
> [787] on all important occasions from the invisible world.
> And the people seem to adore the Chief almost as much
> 127 as the god who inspires him. It is expected that this
> chief will soon die, and he intends to be buried in the
> 797 new vault just now finished. The vault is indeed a
> marvelous work for a company of poor heathen savages to
> 764 perform destitute as they are of Tools - it is composed
> of 5 large pieces of stone one to answer as a bottom and
> [565] four for each side. These were fitted to each other in
> [763] a way which was highly creditable to their genius and
> perseverance and left a space for the Bones about 6 feet
> long 4 feet Deep and 3½ feet wide. There was a stone
> also prepared to cover the Vault when the present chief
> dies. This stone is about 9 feet long 7 feet broad & 1
> & ½ foot thick wrought into a square form with one
> smooth face which will of course be placed downwards
> [stress added] (Hobbs, Journal, July 27, 1833).

127 From this rather detailed description by Hobbs, the ethnohistorical researcher gradually pieces together the events which took place at the Pea. Once again, although proper names of the dying Tongan chief (Fae) and the deceased chief (Takai) are not mentioned, one assumes that if inspiration for the dying chief comes from a deceased relative, as *'otua*, then Fae and Takai might have been siblings.

The journal of the third missionary mentioned by both Thomas and Hobbs, Charles, Tucker, was not available. Tucker, however, did make a letter-journal entry of the events of that day, presumably copied
[797] [765] from his own journal. Tucker wrote:

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

as an illustration of an attack that might well be more fruitful in other and
more competent hands.[1] 114

Dreams and Psychic Stress

Dreaming occurs fairly frequently among the villagers of Pangai. Men had 154
no hesitation in telling their dreams to us or else recording them for us. The
women, however, were much shyer and it was only by considerable persever- [123]
ance that Pearl Beaglehole was able to record any dreams at all from women
informants. There is no reason for thinking that women dream less than men.
Many dreams seem to be in terms of conventional cultural symbols and are 154
given a conventional interpretation by the Tongans. Thus for a husband to
dream of money or a ring is a sign that his wife is pregnant. Dreams portend- 828
ing death, usually of a member of the family or some other close relative, are 787
those of teeth falling out (said to be a common type of dream), dreams of
feces on the body, dreams of touching or handling a hen's egg.[2] Dreams of
approaching fire or of slipping down into a bottomless pit are terror dreams,
generally interpreted as warnings of possible punishment should the dreamer
continue to commit minor sinful acts. One informant also stated that dreams 154
could be used to validate medicinal recipes. His mother's father was visited 787
by a female spirit in a dream and given a successful recipe to cure barrenness 828
and sterility in women. 757

Wish-fulfilment dreams appear to be frequent and capable of easy interpre- 154
tation. The following are examples of this type of dream:

Case 1.—Avai, a boy of 18, home on vacation from a Seventh-Day Adventist 154
College in Nukualofa, reported to me several dreams in which "a girl friend"
appeared and offered herself to him in sexual intercourse. Tongan sexual [836]
morality among young people is relatively strict. Avai had previously been
asked to leave the Government College, Nukualofa, for absenting himself at [873]
night from the college. He had determined to reform, but the occurrence of
this type of dream suggests that his reforming zeal was not without its
intrapsychic conflict.

Case 2.—Loata, a woman of about 35, our next-door neighbor and one very poor, even according to Tongan standards, narrated the following dream to Pearl Beaglehole: "You brought me a beautiful new dress as a gift and also a lot of pins to fasten it together after it had been fitted. My daughter Saane (6 years old) ran away with the pins, and when I chased her she suddenly changed into Saane Tapaka (a girl of 18 employed by us as housegirl, with the same first name as the daughter—we had previously given Saane T. a dress). I could not catch her, and when I came back to my house to get the dress I found you had gone and the dress was nowhere to be found." This
dream is, I think, self-explanatory. Loata dressed for the most part in rags [291]
because her husband was too poor to buy new piece goods at the village store.

Case 3.—Kafa, a young woman of 18 years, married for two years without [842]
yet becoming pregnant (a rarity in Tonga), confesses to many dreams in
which she gives birth to and nurses an infant. She also dreams occasionally
that her husband, the local storekeeper and a hardworking man, has eloped

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[1] Field work on which this paper was based was carried out in Tonga, December, 1938, to February, 1939. Pearl Beaglehole and I lived in the village of Pangai, Vava'u, a small Tongan community about six miles distant from Neiafu, government and trading center for Vava'u, the northern group of Tongan islands, 170 miles away by sea from Nukualofa, capital of the Tongan kingdom. The population of Pangai is about 270. Pearl Beaglehole helped me collect the material here recorded. Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical Officer, Vava'u, kindly gave me the information on which Case 10 (below) is based. [101]

[2] E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society," *Bishop Museum Bull.* 61, 1929, pp. 337–338, gives several further examples. [113]

643 sentative of Hikule'o, the god of harvest, an annual festival of
423 *'inasi* (offering of the first fruits to him) was held.[3] It was believed
that failure to carry out the *'inasi* would result in calamity and the
651 whole land would suffer from divine wrath.

[776] The land was gradually divided among the principal chiefs
[784] as the population increased with the years and, in practice, they
became the effective controllers of their respective land. Once a
423 *tofi'a* (hereditary estate) had been allocated to a chief, it remained
565 associated with his title and neither the Tu'i Tonga nor the *hau*
ever revoked it (Waldegrave 1834:185). though they could
643 depose its existing title holder and choose another. The chiefs
[651] further acknowledged their indebtedness to the Tu'i Tonga for
their land by paying him tributes and by performing the traditional
fatongia[4] *(corvée).*

659 Politics was closely interwoven with religion in Tonga. Every
chiefly person possesed some degree of *mana* or supernatural
565 power. However, the amount of *mana* a chief received was also
778 thought to depend on the good will of the gods. Chiefs made
offerings to obtain the favour of the gods and consulted them on
565 important occasions, particularly before going to war or embarking
[782] on distant voyages. When any misfortune or natural disaster
[787] occurred it was attributed to the anger of the gods. Since the
[784] chiefs, who were the political leaders, relied upon priests as their
mediators with the gods, a close alliance existed between them and
793 the religious leaders in order to maintain their mutual interests.
565 The powers of the priests were second only to those of the chiefs.

The Tongans were polytheistic and possessed a hierarchy of gods.
776 Among the principal gods were the *kau* Tangaloa,[5] who lived in
the sky, the *kau* Maui, who lived in the underworld, and the deity
Hikule'o, who held Pulotu, or the Tongan paradise (Collocott
1921:152-3; Farmer 1855:133; Thomson 1894:23).

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[3] Because *'Inasi* was a religious festival, it was different from the ordinary offering of first fruits to the chiefs which was called *polopolo* (Gifford 1929:103; Martin 1827, I:201; Williamson 1924, III:347-8).

[4] Vason stated, 'It was the custom of the inferior chiefs, to send men, two or three times a week, to "Fadongyeer", i.e. to dig plant and labour for Dugonagaboola' (Orange 1840:139).

[5] *kau* is a plural sign. It comes before nouns denoting persons.

The *kau* Tangaloa were principally creator gods and there were 776
no temples or priests dedicated to them (Gifford 1929:289) and the creator of some of the islands of Tonga and of the first people, Kohai, Koua and Momo (Thomas 1879: 12). The *kau* Maui were believed to have fished up most of the islands of the Tongan group. One Maui was also believed to [823]
carry the earth upon his shoulder, and an earthquake was supposed to be caused either by a Maui changing the earth from one shoulder to another, or falling asleep and nodding his head. Hikule'o was [821]
believed to control the weather and the fertility of the land. The
Tu'i Tonga was regarded as her representative on earth and the [643]
annual *'inasi* offerings to the Tu'i Tonga were actually offered [651]
to her.[6]

Although the principal deities were widely recognised, they were not as important in everyday affairs as the gods who were confined to particular localities. Thus each chief and his people had their own gods. These were usually the spirits of their 775
dead chiefs. It was believed that when members of the chiefly class died they (or their spirits) went to Pulotu where Hikule'o [565]
resided. There they became gods of secondary order, and were thought to return to earth in the form of sharks, various [825]
animal species, and, in one case, an octopus, or were embodied [778]
in a whale tooth, a shell or a carved piece of wood (Gifford 1929:289-90; Wilson 1799:272; Te Rangi Hiroa 1935:12).

These secondary gods were consulted in the event of war or 793
before embarking on long sea voyages, and sacrifices were offered to them in cases of illness (Collocott 1921:158). The offerings 787
to the gods were made through a priest, and if he were dissatisfied 782
he would ask 'Do you think I am going to take any notice of such paltry things as you have brought?' The poor people on hearing this would go to fetch more cóstly gifts and sometimes, if they received no assistance from the first deity to whom they had sacrificed, they would visit five or six gods in succession. If they obtained satisfaction, it was believed that the gods were pleased and were pleading on their behalf with the venerable

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[6] Some thought that Hikule'o was a male god (Lawry 1850:251); Collocott 1921:152).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8]

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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782 deities in Pulotu. *Kau'inima* (the cutting off of fingers as a
[793] sacrifice) and even human sacrifices were often given to the gods
in order to save the life of a chief. In April 1842 the Reverend
[787] John Thomas wrote to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Committee in London:

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> January 10th, 1842, died Fatu, the chief of the Mua. His illness was of many weeks continuance . . . At length it was feared that he would not recover; and various means were used by Heathens, but to no purpose. On the 7th of January, a youth named Feheko, a Chief's son, about twelve years of age, was offered in sacrifice to the gods. His own father and another man strangled him; but all was in vain.
> (*W-M Mag.* 1843:258)

784 So it was that natural disaster, disease, death and famine were
731 attributed to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the
spirits of dead relatives.

753 Sacred houses were built in sacred places, mostly the burial
761 places of the chiefly ancestors, where offerings and prayers were
made to the gods through the medium of the priests. Because of
778 their prestige and importance the priests received food and other
[793] gifts from the people (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1843). The
sacred places were often used by wrongdoers, or those who were
being pursued by a chief, as places of refuge. The most famous
of these sanctuaries was that of the god Tāufa'itahi, whose priest
was Kautai at Mu'a (Gifford 1929:300; Blacket 1914:121-3).
The missionary, Walter Lawry, recorded in his diary (9 Dec.
1822) how Fatu, the chief with whom he stayed at Mu'a, became
very angry when Lawry reported to him the danger to which he
(Lawry) and his family had been exposed by 'the savage wantonness of several natives', and that 'the offenders took shelter in the
Hoofanga, to beg pardon of the gods; this saved them from being
[688] killed at once'. In these sanctuaries the criminal was safe from
attack, because any violation of these places was so serious a
crime that a human life would have to be offered in atonement.
(Martin 1827, I:190).

775 Pulotu was thought to be an island to the west of Tongatapu
where anything mortal could not survive. The chiefs considered
[565] that the commoners had no place there. Hence commoners were

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

797 The commoners followed their chiefs as they had always done,
for fear of immediate punishment and divine retribution.

For their own interest the priests, in particular, were anxious
793 to keep the commoners' fear alive. Although the priestly class
in Tonga did not have the same socio-political importance which
the members of their order enjoyed in some other places in the
Pacific, they were still treated by the Tongan people with
[776] considerable respect and fear. The veneration offered to a priest
depended upon the rank of the god who inspired him. Although
the power of the priests was second only to that of the chiefs,
[789] it was more religious in nature. Their power to curse *(talatuki)*
was revered by all (West 1865:257). They were always consulted
[787] as to the will of the gods with regard to sickness, natural dis-
[465] aster, voyages, war and so on, and a very high fee was charged
for the consultation (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1834).

It was obvious from the beginning that the intrusion of
797 Christianity, with its strange and more sophisticated order of
793 priesthood, meant the decline and in due course the disappearance
of the traditional priesthood, together with all the power, honour
and privileges its members had enjoyed for centuries. This was a
significant loss and, as might be expected, the members of the old
order were prepared to fight to retain their position.

Describing the state of affairs in his station Thomas (1879:57) wrote:

> The priest and priestess now seeing that . . . the Tonga worship was being brought into great discredit, they gave utterances—while inspired by the gods, which roused some of the chiefs, who favoured them, to use means to put a stop to these disorderly proceedings. Some common persons, who had been bold enough to slight, or cast away the Tonga gods were beaten—and others were threatened—and all were termed foolish who had taken up at once with this new thing, which the *papalangis*—foreigners had brought.

797 After the death of a man at Hihifo, old Fai'ana, the priestess,
793 told the people that she had a dream in which the deceased had
told her that the missionaries had informed him that if he joined
787 the *lotu* he would not die, intimating that the missionaries had
lied (Thomas, Journal, 30 Jan. 1829). Again, after a severe storm
one priest told the people that Pulotu Kātoa (one of the most

revered gods) had been 'tired with the tardy movements of his 797
faithful worshippers, the Tonguese heathens, in reference to
making war upon the Christians [had] at length taken the matter 793
into his own hands and his weapons of war [were] to be drought 787
and storms . . . ' (Watkin, Journal, 21 Dec. 1826).

However, it is quite evident that the opposition raised by the 797
priests was not in any way comparable with that offered by the
chiefs. The honour and privileges that the priests had enjoyed in 793
the old order were nothing compared with those which the chiefs, 565
for instance, had enjoyed. But the fact that they threw their weight
behind the opposition of the chiefs was quite significant.

It was the chiefs who had most to lose from the encroaching 797
influence of the missionaries. Here lay the basis for their antagonism,
and, because they had traditionally held all power in their 565
hands, their opposition was formidable and was clearly understood by the missionaries.

The missionaries' teaching that all men were equal in the sight of God, their belief that everyone was a sinner by nature and that in order to get to heaven everyone, irrespective of rank, had to submit to certain moral discipline, and their preaching that no one, chief or otherwise, had any right to appropriate to himself any property belonging to another, were particularly unpopular with the chiefs, since these doctrines tended to undermine their status, privileges and authority. Since almost every heathen custom, which the missionaries regarded as contrary to Christianity and civilisation and were determined to eradicate, played some part in upholding the dignity and privileges of the chiefs, it was inevitable that the majority of the chiefs should clash with the missionaries over the maintenance of these traditional customs.

The missionaries, for one reason or another, appeared to have 797
lacked the ability to differentiate between those customs which
were incompatible with Christian principles and those which were contrary only to their own British middle-class moral standards. For this reason they failed to appreciate the psychological and social significance of some of the old customs and traditions to
the Tongans themselves. An example may be seen in the perpetual 764
conflict between the missionaries and the chiefs over the question 565
of *tukuofo*. This custom was performed at the funeral of any 431
[797]

764 member of a chiefly family. On such an occasion the people under
the rule of the chief concerned, his friends and relatives in par-
565 ticular, would bring gifts of *ngatu* (tapa cloth), mats of various
431 kinds, and articles of food and drink to him.

From the commoners' point of view, this was an expression of their love and respect for the deceased, sympathy for the bereaved, and also a manifestation of their regard and loyalty to their leader. For the relatives it provided an opportunity for an extended family gathering, where they learned to know each other personally, and also their various responsibilities to each other. The warmth of filial devotion and the strength of family ties were further kindled and strengthened on such occasions. The bereaved chiefs themselves were comforted. They also appreciated the fact that the commoners' (or rather their subjects') sorrow and devotion were being expressed in a practical way.

The chiefs were often reminded on such occasions of their responsibilities to their people and this helped to maintain good relationships between them and their people, all of which furthered
764 the maintenance of stability and order in the community. The
missionaries did not seem to understand, let alone to appreciate,
565 these implications. The fact that some of the *ngatu* and mats were
431 used to wrap up the deceased for burial, and that the food pre-
797 sented was prepared to feed the people present, caused the
missionaries to view the *tukuofo*, rather mistakenly, as an offering
to the dead.

Tukuofo was also regarded as a means used by the chiefs to accumulate wealth at the expense of the commoners. 'I wish to see the *tukuofo*—quite put down—' wrote John Thomas, 'but this is the craft by which many Tonga chiefs have their wealth. They would be glad to keep it up' (Thomas, Journal, 24 Dec. 1826). It may be pointed out that the chiefs did not demand the *tukuofo*. It came from the people quite spontaneously and freely and from a sense of responsibility.

797 Another point of conflict between the chiefs and the missionaries
565 was the chiefs' jealousy towards the rival for their authority.
571 The priests of the old order exercised power over the people
only during their brief periods of inspiration. For the most part
[793] they were, like the rest of the population, under the power of the
[787]

There were three divisions in the Tongan Pantheon — the Tangaloa, gods 776
in the sky, the Maui in the underworld (who caused earthquakes and gave other
evidence of their power), and Hikule'o, who presided over Pulotu, the paradise
in the west. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as the high priest of Hikule'o and 776
his wife, the Moheofo, was priestess or servant *(kaunanga)* of Hikule'o. The 793
priests of the various deities professed to receive and utter oracles from the gods [643]
in trance-like experiences. Only the priests entered the gods' houses; the suppliants [644]
sat humbly outside. The priests were not always respected, especially when their [787]
statements did not suit influential interrogators. Tongans believed also in gods
of natural forces (the winds, the sea, the harvest), gods of sacred places, and
even creatures which frequented these places and were thought to embody the
spirit of the ancestral chief of a neighbouring tribe.(10)

The offering of human sacrifice by strangulation, when a chief or a member 782
of his family was threatened with death, was never practised as frequently as [171]
in Fiji and became less common as time went on; instances, however, were
recorded by Mariner during his sojourn in Tonga (1806-10) and by missionaries
later. The victim was generally a youth, the child of one of the chief's secondary
wives. Instead of a life it became customary to amputate fingers and offer these 782
as substitute sacrifices. Cook wrote, 304

> "There was scarcely one in ten I did not find mutilated in one or more hands." (11)

George Tupou I (c. 1797-1893) had lost two little fingers in his youth. When
a chief died, women cut their hair and beat their cheeks until they were covered
with blood, and men wounded themselves with clubs and spears, to show their
sorrow and their devotion to the deceased. The more savage practices found in 171
Fiji, such as cannibalism, infanticide, and the premature burying of the very old, 266
were practically unknown in Tonga. There was indeed a great respect for the 847
aged and a strong affection for children. Cannibalism, in imitation of Fijian 888
customs, was practised in the Civil Wars which began in 1799, but it was 888
regarded with utter abhorrence in normal times. 858
266

* * * *

Tonga's usually orderly and pleasant existence continued through the 177
centuries until the early 17th Century when the first contact was made with Europeans who, in the people's phrase, burst through the skies with their tall ships; hence the word for Europeans, *Papālangi*, or sky-bursters. This happened first in the distant northern islands of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou. Jan Schouten and Jacob Lemaire came in two ships around Cape Horn searching for what was expected to be a great southern continent in the vast expanse of the South Pacific Ocean. On 9 May 1616 the Dutchmen saw a canoe with about twenty-five people; these were Tongans whose first knowledge of the outside world was the firing of warning shots. The Dutchmen followed the canoe to Tafahi and the adjacent island, Niua Toputapu. The visitors did not land on either. Surprised at the appearance of human beings so different from themselves and ships so unlike their canoes, the people attempted to steal one of the ships' boats during the trading for vegetables and other supplies. When the vessels were going across from Tafahi to Niua Toputapu, a large fleet of canoes attacked the ships with stones. No fatalities occurred then, but, during the subsequent visit of the Dutchmen to Niua Fo'ou, the island to the west, two Tongans were killed when trying to capture one of the ships' boats. It was an unhappy introduction to the Tongans' contact with Europeans.

/246 cont./

772 world consisted of two fundamental types: (650)

[113) 650. H. Nevermann, Gotter der Sudsee /Gods of the South Seas/. Stuttgart 1947. p. 75.

the high (that is, the gods, the Mana (651),

[778) 651. "The essence that is extraordinarily effective" (that results in courage, bravery, talent, luck and physical strength in above-average measure) (ibid., p. 39).

the nobles, light and day, life and so on) and the low (that is, the commoners, darkness and night, everything that destroys, death and so on).

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774
775 People believed that a human being consisted of three parts: the body and vital energy (both of which were perishable) as well as the phantom-being that separates itself from the body after death and goes on living independently. (652)

562. H. Nevermann, loc. cit. pp. 39/40.

[565) The Tongans, however, qualified this by saying that only nobles possessed such phantom-beings whereas for commoners there was no life after death. (653)

653. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 121, 136.

565
775
772 Thus, according to the popular belief, only the deceased nobles lived in that world beyond, which was never seen by human beings, which lay in the distant northwest and was called pulotu; there the phantom-beings of chiefs and the matapule serving them enjoyed an existance which, in accordance with their particular rank, was similar to their past earthly one, but was easier and more pleasant--quite simply, godlike. (654)

654. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 105, 108, 135.

775
787 There, the phantom-beings of chiefs were endowed with godlike power and were able to return to Tonga and appear to priests, to their

[No p. 371 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

/246 cont./

775 787 relatives and also to other human beings. (655)

655. Ibid. pp. 105, 138.

775 776 The entire population, however, (that is, Tongans of all ranks) were subject to the power of the gods. The multitude of Tongan gods may be divided into "great gods," "the chiefs of the past who became deities," and demons. The former lived on earth as human beings, but were gods from the very beginning and had great power to do good and evil toward mankind. (656)

[771] 656. See also J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 103/104. Of the four great Polynesian gods Tu (Ku), Tane (Kane), Ro'o (Lono) and Ta'aroa (Kanaloa), the first three seem to have been unknown in Tonga (at any rate in 1800), while the last one is mentioned as Tangaloa (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 112 ff; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/ p. 289).

[787] [778] They made themselves known through priests, appeared in the shape of animals (lizards, dolphins, water snakes) and also entered into images or into simple things (such as stones).

[787] /247/ The chiefs of the past who became gods, like the great gods but to a lesser extent, were able to bring good and evil to human beings; often they appeared to warn, help and advise, (657)

657. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 104, 106.

and may therefore also be regarded as "tutelary gods," especially since the majority of them had only local, or even merely familial significance.

776 784 The demons or malignant kobolds, however, (according to Mariner) (658)

658. J. Martin, ibid., pp. 104, 119/120.

in conformity with their negative function, were always up to bad tricks and, out of pure mischief, inflicted on human beings the many little

/247 cont./

771 p. 207 ff.).

which were closely associated with the high chiefs, there was no
(346) systematic worship of the gods. There were few temples on the
islands; they did not differ greatly from the dwellings of the chiefs.
(778) Only a few wooden figures of gods existed in the Archipelago. The
793 (shamanlike) /248/ priests played a subordinate role and were by no
771 means united in a special, powerful rank. (664)

664. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 145 ff.

(776) They were inspired by the gods which each priest served; the chiefs
(787) asked them for counsel and the sick and dying were brought in front
of their dwellings so that they might induce the gods to heal them.
755 In order to dispose the gods favorably toward the recovery of the
782 sufferers, their relatives of lower rank offered joints of their
304 little fingers (or parts of the fingers), (665)
565

771 665. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 454;
II. pp. 222/223.

and if all pleading and even the finger sacrifices were unable to save the dying chief, then a child of one's circle of relatives was strangled in order to dispose the gods to be merciful by means of this supreme sacrifice. (666)

(784) 666. Ibid. I. pp. 378 ff., 454; II. p. 220 ff.
If a specially serious crime was committed, the natives also tried to avert disaster threatened by the gods through a child sacrifice (ibid. I. p. 228 ff.).

771 In Tongan society there are few examples of definite disbelief
779 (667)

177 667. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society. p. 347;
J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 159, 338/339.
II. p. 1 ff.

and although perhaps not all commoners could become reconciled to their lot of complete extinction after death, (668)

/251 cont./

771 775 178 intelligent men are convinced that spirits exist (671)

671. These are today known as tevolo (devils), as a result of mission work.

and are seized with cold fear, for example, while riding horseback at night in bushland. It sometimes happens that Tongans report [787] ghastly experiences which they allegedly had with such spirits. Some 771 178 natives also believe, as they did in the past, (672)

672. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 236.

787 825 that the call of the sikota bird announces disaster and that it embodies the voice of a dead person. The fata is similarly regarded [763] as a bird of death; if they hear it at night, the early death of a villager may be expected. The tapu that has degenerated to nothing 784 789 685 178 more than simple magic in the form of using taboo against theft on field products and fruit trees by means of /attaching/ bunches of foilage (673)

[753] 673. Leaves wrapped in raw tapa (feta'aki) with a strip of feta'aki hanging on it to mark it; the thief stealing fruit on which a taboo has been placed is supposed to be punished with certain illnesses (for example, ulcers, paralysis).

was still used up to a few decades ago; today the natives rely on their own vigilance, and in places where they suspect plantation thefts they station cooperative groups of watchmen. (674)

[753] 674. See also pp. 99-102 on taboo in present-day Tonga; some natives also still believe that it is not good to take food leftovers and cigarettes from a chief; ulcers on the chin area are supposed to be the consequence.

773 178 The beautiful old myths are mostly forgotten, except for those that are today taught in the schools and that have kept the character of fairy tales that people like to listen to but that they do not believe to be true. When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga,

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788 RITUAL--practices reflecting relief of anxiety through performance of repetitive or obsessionally precise symbolic acts; compulsive gestures (e.g., sign of the cross); repetitive behavior (e.g., tolling of bells, burning of candles, sprinkling with holy water); recital of stereotyped formulas (e.g., blessings); mechanical praying (e.g., with rosary, with prayer wheel); recitation of litanies and liturgies (e.g., credos, masses); processions; making of pilgrimages; etc. See also:

Propitiation	782
Elaboration of rituals into extended ceremonies	796
Ritual numbers	801

For an inferior person (petty chief, matapule, or commoner) to walk 784
by a chief's house smoking is an affront; also riding horseback, carrying 565
an umbrella, wearing a turban (*fau*), or having a garland (*sisi*) around the
neck, although a *sisi* around the waist is permitted. Conversation must stop [521]
in passing a chief's house. Breaches are subject to punishment by thrashing, [689]
often by the chief himself. The conception of a supernatural punishment
seems not to be entertained.

The Hihifo district of Tongatabu is tapu. No one is allowed to sing or 784
to yell, either in settlements or in the bush. Drums may not be beaten. 643
People must not run about in the town, and all must wear ragged mats (*tao-
vala*) as signs of humility. These rules are enforced because of the Tui
Kanokupolu and are observed in Hihifo whether the Tui Kanokupolu is in
Hihifo or in Nukualofa. Again no supernatural punishment followed a
breach of these rules.

OCCUPATIONAL CEREMONIAL

Christianity has been too long established is Tonga to permit of much 789
information being obtained to-day concerning religious practices for the
furtherance of various occupations. Apparently the greatest of all cere- 789
monials of this character was the *inasi*, or Harvest Festival, which obvi- 527
ously had as its aim the perpetuation of agricultural welfare. It was in [782]
honor of Hikuleo, but the offerings were brought to the Tui Tonga, whom [776]
Farmer (23, p. 129) says was the high priest of this deity, a statement
which cannot be verified to-day. Cook (19, p. 336) witnessed an *inasi*
ceremony at which the Tui Tonga presided. The *inasi* is also described by
Wilson (65, 66) and by Mariner (40,41).

Boat building, fishing, pigeon snaring, and presumably even rat shoot- 789
ing were preceded by ceremonial observances, but what these ceremonies [396]
were I did not learn except in the most casual way, as the following frag- [226]
mentary notes indicate. Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 59, 60) describes observances [223]
in connection with shark fishing. [224]

Just what ceremonies were performed at the launching of a vessel I did not learn. 788
Before a new vessel could be boarded by a woman, however, a ceremony called *hopo-* 562
kivaka was performed. This took place at or after the launching and was usually 396
performed by a woman, though sometimes by a man.

The first shark caught in a new fishing boat (*tafaanga*) is called *tokialiu*. A cele- 226
bration in honor of this event bears the same name. When five sharks have been 788
caught in a *tafaanga* another ceremony occurs, called *fakatoululoto*. When ten sharks
have been caught in a *tafaanga*, a third ceremony takes place, called *fakatouluhoko*.
Thereafter sharks may be caught without further ado.

In pigeon snaring a man stood on the lookout for the pigeons at the mound. At 788
their first appearance in the distance, looking only as big as the *nono* (defined by Baker 223
as an insect and by the informant Havili as an insect smaller than an ant), dances

and rejoicing were started on the mound. This went on whilst the approaching pigeons 788
grew successively as large mosquitoes and as flies; but when they appeared as large 223
as the *misi* bird (*Aplonis tabuensis*) the rejoicings were stopped. The chief man of the hunt took no part in these rejoicings, but sat quietly where the kava was served, and was said to be paying his reverence to the mound by his silence and non-participation.

A sport in which people formed a long line through the bush and then moved 224
forward straight ahead, each man shooting with bow and arrow whatever came in his 526
way was called *lautele*. Everything that was shot counted, according to one account even butterflies or flies. When they had come to the spot set as the end of the beat, they counted trophies and the man who had most won. The place where the sport was to be held was announced beforehand, and if a human being strayed into the place he was liable to become a trophy for one of the hunters.

MYTHOLOGY

The Tongan mythology, in general, resembles Samoan mythology rather 773
than that of New Zealand and eastern Polynesia. Propinquity of the two [17]
groups would lead one to expect this. It deals both with the great gods and the lesser gods. No migration tales enter into Tongan tradition, for people are regarded as created in Tonga, not elsewhere.

The subject of Tongan mythology has been quite fully covered by Collocott and me (26), and these works give references to myths published by other writers.

The following myth was recorded by Mr. W. H. Murley: 773

On the eminence called Toloke [in Haano Island] in the very old days stood a 539
god house and the keepers (there was no priest, as was often the case) were two old men, one blind, the other deaf. Now, Kui was the name of the blind one and Tuli that of the deaf. As the house was in need of a new pillar, they set to work to chop down a big toa tree. After infinite labor (they had only stone axes) the tree came crashing to earth. Whilst they were felling it a man named Mafi, who lived on the other side of the island, heard the blows of the axe and as his house, too, was needing repairs, he thought that it would be a saving of labor if he could by some means steal it. Mafi was a giant amongst men, although men were giants in those days.

Creeping softly up to where the immense tree was lying he carefully hid himself, patiently watching his chance. Presently it came. He heard Tuli tell Kui to stand by the tree, lest it should be stolen as he was going to get another axe. When Tuli had gone Mafi stepped out of his place of concealment and, imitating Tuli's voice, said: "Kui, feel about to know whether the tree has not been stolen."

Kui replied, as he put his hand on it, "No, the tree is still here."

Then Mafi stepping gently seized hold of the butt of another log about the same size and, pulling out the freshly chopped tree, substituted for it the log. Then he again said, "Kui, is the tree still there?"

"Yes," answered the blind man. Then Mafi commenced to drag his tree to the sea, and he had only got to the edge of the reef when Tuli came in sight and promptly gave chase. Mafi then grabbed the small end of the tree and started to run along the reef, the tide being out, dragging his stolen property after. Round the point of the island he went with Tuli after him, but Mafi got to his house first. Although the tree has long since rotted, Mafi's house is scattered to the four winds, and not a sign remains of the god house, yet the track where the tree was dragged is plainly visible in the reef, like a long trench from Toloke to the other side of the island.

tabooles to the house on the *malái* at Neafoo, 643 669
having, besides their usual dress, small mats 727
round the middle, significant of its being a 728
solemn occasion, and out of respect, too, for 796
Toobo Malohi (although he came as an humble 292
suppliant), for he was a very great chief, supe- [593]
rior even to Toobo Toa, as being his elder bro- [554]
ther. Toobo Malohi being informed that the [301]
king was already seated in the large house on [824]
the *malái*, ready to receive him, he and his fol- [576]
lowers, being all dressed in large mats, expressive of their very great respect, with leaves
of the *ifi* tree round their necks as a mark of
submission, went forth, with due sentiments,
thus habited, and accompanied by a priest, to a
house dedicated to Tali-y Toobó, and sat down 643
before it. The priest then addressed the di- 669
vine spirit that was supposed to reside there, to 727
the following purpose: "Here thou seest the 728
"men who have come from Tonga to implore 796
"thy pardon for their crimes; they have been 793
"rebels against those chiefs who hold power [782]
"from divine authority, but, being sorry for
"what they have done, they hope that thou
"wilt be pleased to extend thy protection towards them for the future." The priest then [824]
rose up, and laid a piece of cava root under the [788]
eaves of the house: after which he proceeded
towards Finow, with the suppliants all follow-

643
669 ing him, one close after another in the order of
727 their rank, their heads bowed down, and their
728 hands clasped before them, and, entering the
796 house on the side opposite the king, they seated
799 themselves before him and his matabooles, their
[824 hands still clasped together, and their heads
[788 bowed down almost to touch the ground. After
a little time, the priest, who sat between them and the king, addressed the latter to the following purpose: "You here see Toobo Malohi, "and his chiefs and followers, who have been "to implore the pardon of Tali-y Toobó, and "are now come to humiliate themselves before "you: not that they expect you will pardon "them after so obstinate a rebellion, but they "come to endeavour to convince you of their "sorrow for so great and heinous a crime: "they have no expectation but to die, there-"fore your will be done*." After a short pause, the priest again said, "pass your sen-"tence, Finow:" he then rose up, and retired
643
669 among the people. In a little time, Finow
727 said to the supplicants, "*Toogooá he lo ifi*,"
728 Take off the *ifi* leaves (which is a sign of par-
796 don): of which command they took no notice,
[824 as if unwilling to believe so great a mercy was
shewn to them. Finow again said, "*Toogooá*

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* This speech of the priest is to be considered more a matter of form than the real sentiments of the suppliants.

651 red ribbons and wreaths of flowers, and the
796 men armed with spears and clubs, betoken the
[292] importance of the ceremony about to be performed.
Each party brings in its yams in a
[411] basket, which is carried in the arms with great
care, by the principal vassal of the chief to whom the plantation may belong. The baskets are deposited on the *malái* (in the *Mooa*), and some of the men begin to employ themselves in slinging the yams, each upon the centre of a pole about eight or nine feet long, and four inches diameter. The proceedings
651 are regulated by attending matabooles. The
796 yams being all slung, each pole is carried by
two men upon their shoulders, one walking before
788 the other, and the yam hanging between
769 them, ornamented with red ribbons. The procession begins to move towards the grave of the last Tooitonga (which is generally in the neighbourhood, or the grave of one of his family will do), the men advancing in a single line, every two bearing a yam, with a slow and measured pace, sinking at every step, as if their burden were of immense weight*. In the mean time the chiefs and matabooles are seated in a semi-

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* And as if meaning to express, "How bountiful are the "gods, to give us so good a harvest, and provide us with "yams so large and heavy!"

circle before the grave, with their heads bowed 651
down, and their hands clasped before them. 796
The procession now approaches: two boys, 788
walking abreast of each other, precede it at a 769
little distance, blowing conchs; then come the men, bearing the yams, about seventy or eighty in number, i. e. about a hundred and sixty men in a single line, as close to each other as the length of the pole will allow; after them comes a single line of men, about forty in number, singing aloud, as before stated, *nofo óooa* *, &c.; these are followed up by two other boys blowing conchs: they proceed between the grave and the chiefs, describing there a large circle two or three times, the conchs blowing and the men singing: the yams are then deposited, one after the other (still on the poles), before the grave, and the men sit down by the side of them, so that the chiefs and matabooles are in the rear: one of the matabooles of Tooitonga now rises, advances, and again seats himself before the grave, a little in advance of the men. Here he addresses the gods generally, and afterwards particularly, mentioning the late Tooitonga, and the names of several others. He returns

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* Not only no work may be done at the time of the *ináchi*, but nobody may appear abroad, unless for the purposes of the ceremony. [461]

651 thanks for their divine bounty in favouring the
796 land with the prospect of so good a harvest,
788 and prays that their beneficence may be continued
769 in future: this prayer he makes in the
names of several chiefs present, whom he announces
aloud. This being done, he arises and
retires to his former place: the men now also
rise and resume their loads in the same order,
and, after having paraded round two or three
times before the grave, return back to the malái
the same way they came, singing and blowing
651 the conchs as before. The chiefs and matabooles,
796 a short time afterwards, rise and follow
them to the same place, where the yams are
now again deposited, and loosened from the
poles, still, however, retaining their ornaments.
The company seat themselves in a large circle,
at which Tooitonga presides; the king, and
other great chiefs, retiring behind among the
mass of the people. The other articles that
form part of the *Inàchi* are next brought forward;
these are dried fish, *mahoá*, mats, *gnátoo*,
and bundles of *mellecoóla*, which, together with
the yams (although not cooked), are shared out
[796] by one of the matabooles of Tooitonga. First,
[793] there is a considerable share (about one fourth),
[643] allotted to the gods, which the priests appropriate,
and their servants immediately take
away: about one half is allotted to the king,

784 *táboo*, and must not be eaten until a small por-
tion be first given to the gods. Any other kind
262 of food may be rendered *táboo* by a prohibition
being laid on it. Fruits and flowers when tá-
booed are generally marked to be so, by pieces
of white *tapa*, or a piece of plait, in the shape
784 of a lizard or shark*. To prevent certain kinds
796 of food from growing scarce, a prohibition or
táboo is set on them for a time, as after the
[262] *inàchi*, or other great and repeated ceremonies;
[651] and which *táboo* is afterwards removed by the
ceremony called *fúccaláhi;* but this latter term
is not only applied to the ceremony which re-
moves the prohibition, but is equally used to
express the duration of the *táboo* itself, and which
therefore is often called the time of the *fúccaláhi*. During certain ceremonies, as that of the
inàchi and the *fala* (see Vol. I. p. 390), nobody
may appear abroad, or at least in sight, it being
tabooed to do so.

784 Any thing that is not tabooed is said to be
[192] *gnofoóa* (i. e. easy, or at liberty), and is a term
used in contradistinction to *táboo*.

[565] When a person is tabooed, by touching a
[788] superior chief or relation, or any thing person-
ally belonging to him, he will perform the cere-

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[609] * Nevertheless they would not refuse to pluck and eat if Mr. Mariner, or any foreigner not influenced by such superstition, would first remove this external sign of the *táboo*.

mony of *mbë-mbë*, before he will dare feed himself 784
with his own hands. This ceremony consists 565
in touching the soles of any superior chief's 788
feet with the hands, first applying the palm,
then the back of each hand; after which the
hands must be rinsed in a little water, or, if
there be no water near, they may be rubbed
with any part of the stem of the plantain or banana
tree, the moisture of which will do instead
of washing. He may then feed himself without 264
danger of any disease, which would otherwise 753
happen, as they think, from eating with tabooed
hands: but if any one think he may have already
(unknowingly) eaten with tabooed hands, he
then sits down before a chief, and taking the
foot of the latter, presses the sole of it against
his own abdomen, that the food which is within
him may do him no injury, and that consequently
he may not swell up and die: this operation
is called *fota*, (i. e. to press.) It is tabooed 784
also to eat when a superior relation is present, 264
unless the back is turned towards him: for 565
when a person's back is turned towards another, 516
that other may be said, in one sense, not to be
in his presence: also to eat food which a superior
relation or chief has touched; and if
either of these *taboos* is accidentally infringed
upon, the ceremony of *fota* must be performed.
If any one is tabooed by touching the person 784
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784 or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other
643 chief can relieve him from his *taboo*, because no
415 chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the
778 inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated
bowl (or some such thing), belonging
to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead
of his feet. In Mr. Mariner's time, Tooitonga
always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which
dish was given to his father by Captain Cook.
784 Véachi usually adopted a similar plan. Cava,
276 either the root or the infusion, cannot be tabooed
by the touch of any chief of what rank
soever; so that a common *tooa* may chew cava
which even Tooitonga has touched.

Toogoo Ca'va. This ceremony consists in
796 merely leaving a small piece of cava root before
782 a consecrated house or grave, out of respect to
276 a god, or to the departed spirit of a chief or relation,
788 at the same time the ceremony of *toogi*
or beating the cheeks is performed, as related
(Vol. I. p. 89.) The *toogi*, which is performed
at burials, is of a more serious nature.

Lotoo is the term used for praying; but it
782 is more commonly applied to prayers offered up
in the fields to all the gods, but particularly to
Alo Alo, petitioning for a good harvest. It
will be also recollected, that prayers are offered
up before consecrated houses and graves.

787 As omens, to which they give a considerable

265. Mamao a folau: Distant on a voyage. 539 484

This seems a fair representation of the literal meaning though it may be translated slightly differently. This rendering, however, well indicates the real meaning and use of the expression, which is that the one spoken of is at a distance but will return. He is away on a trip, not to stay, and in due course the time will come for his return.

266. Mamao a hikuhiku jila: The distance of the tip of the yard, or the tip of the yard is distant. 539 501

This refers to that which is now at a distance but which later will be brought near. Just as in the boat the tip of the yard is far out of reach and hanging over the sea when the sail is set, but later on the sail will be taken in and the formerly inaccessible end of the yard will be brought within easy reach.

267. Mata liu ae fine heke: The strange woman (that is, one without part or lot in the matter) looking at a boat's hold. 539 562 226

This is said to be referable mainly to important fishing, such as shark fishing, and to indicate women who go to the shore to see a boat with which they have no concern discharge her catch. The women who are connected with the boat would say in effect by this phrase, "Let these women look; that is as much as they will get out of it. Ours it is to share in the distribution of the spoil." It is referred to the fascination and interest which women unaccustomed to the sight of a boat unloading her cargo would find in the spectacle. They would wish to return again and again and see more of it. To this line of thought seems to belong its application to a woman enamored of a handsome man (*manaia*). She would never tire of going to look at him. The first idea seems to be present also. Let her look at the man; he will be another's prize. Baker, however, gives what is apparently an opposite meaning, "To be enamored of strange women." Its most common application, at any rate at the present day, would seem to be to women looking at the treasures being unloaded from a boat in which they have no concern.

It is stated also that this expression has reference to the ceremony following the launching of a new boat, the *hopoki*, literally the getting on board. Before this ceremony the boat could not be entered by women. The ceremony might be performed by men but was usually done by women; the most proper person being the chiefliest woman amongst the people to whom the boat belonged. In this connection also the idea would be of the distinction between the "other" women who had no part nor lot in the boat, and those who were intimately connected with her. (Compare No. 400.) 539 501 562 788

268. Mata vaka piki vaka: Seeing boat, sticking to boat. 539 422 571

People are welcome to go and see other people's boats, but they must not go on board without permission or otherwise take the sort of liberties with her which one may take with his own property. A caution against meddlesomeness.

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MATERIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF TONGAN AND SAMOAN GODS.

BY TE RANGI HIROA.

INTRODUCTORY.

T
S THE Tongans and Samoans of western Polynesia
171 resembled other groups in southern, central, eastern,
and northern Polynesia in having gods, priests, and places
where religious observances were carried out.

T The gods varied in origin, sphere of influence, and
S power. Their power was confined to a family group or
171 extended to tribes, villages, districts, or even to one or
776 more islands. In general principle, the gods were regarded
as something intangible without innate material form.

T The priest was the human medium between the god
S and the followers of the god. The office was usually
171 hereditary and carried out the transmitted ritual and
793 observances that placated the god and induced it to use
supernormal influence on behalf of the devotees. A visible
T manifestation of the formless god was apparent when an
S inspired priest was affected with a convulsive seizure
171 attributed to the god entering his human medium to make
793 known his decisions or commands. In such cases, the priest
787 was regarded as a material receptacle and was hence termed
a *waka* (canoe or receptacle) in New Zealand and a *pi'a*
atua (god-box) in Mangaia. The inspirational technique
was used throughout Polynesia but not all priests were
convulsive receptacles nor did all gods assume this method
of visible manifestation.

T The official places for making divine contact varied
S considerably. Certain gods were represented by rocks or
171 trees, and a simple ritual such as the offering of a branch
778 or a pebble or the muttering of a short formula was carried
[788] out even by the laity when such sites were passed. For
T more important deities and occasions, special structures
S were constructed, the offerings assumed greater value
171 culminating in some regions in human sacrifices, the
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ritual became more elaborate, and an educated priesthood officiated. Religious places of worship conformed to three main types.

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(a) Stone structures were characteristic of central, eastern, and northern Polynesia. The main features were a paved or gravelled court usually rectangular in ground plan and a raised platform at one end of the court. Elaboration varied in different regions as to the presence of curbing, walls, stone uprights, stepped platforms, stone seats, houses, images, additional courts and terraces, and special features such as the carved boards *(unu)* of Tahiti and the oracle-tower of Hawaii. Simple forms occurred in the atoll islands, the inland valleys of the Society islands, and the now uninhabited islands of Nihoa and Necker which lie to the north-west of Hawaii. The unroofed court accommodated a select congregation and the raised platform provided a sacred place about which the priests officiated.

In central and part of eastern Polynesia, the structures were referred to as *marae* but there are linguistic indications that the term *marae* more specifically indicated the court while the raised platform was usually distinguished by some form of the term *ahu*. In Easter island, the emphasis was on the raised platform with its stone images, and the term *ahu* seems to have included the whole structure with the sloping pavement in front of the platform. In northern Polynesia, the term *marae* disappeared and the Hawaiian structure received the name of *heiau*.

The thatched buildings that were erected on some courts for the housing of drums, sacred objects, images, and even priests, were accessory to the fundamental stone structure. It is probable that some of the simpler courts had no houses erected on them.

(b) Wooden structures were characteristic of the Tongan and Samoan groups of western Polynesia. They were built on the same architectural plan as the dwelling- and guest-houses which stood on stone platforms. Wooden fences were erected around the house to define a taboo area. The term *malae* (cf. Tahitian *marae)* was not applied to these sacred houses but referred to the village-green where open-air meetings of a purely social nature were held. The stone platform was accessory to the house and

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775 of the gods and the place where the souls of deceased
565 rulers and chiefs went after death (commoners had no
souls, thus no afterlife).

182 To add to the complexity of Tonga's highly sophisti-
788 cated society, events were regulated by particular
rituals. Among these, for example, were the elaborate ceremonies surrounding *kava* drinking (such as in "Momo and Nua") and marriage rites (as in "Son of the Sun"). Such rituals have, to a great extent, remained a part of Tongan traditions over the centuries.

175 At certain points throughout history, the Pacific was
648 the center of great mobility and conquest. At times,
Tonga extended her dominion to neighboring islands such as Samoa (thus the references in several of the folk tales).

[p. 10-A]

175 [454 cont.]
123 by a number of them wherever he went. We were told that he had
565 conducted our gentlemen to two fayetòocas, and had pronounced a
[788] solemn speech or prayer, with his face directed to the building,
but at times turning to captain Cook, and addressing the words to
him, in a questioning tone. In these moments he always made a short
pause, as if he expected an answer, and seeing a nod ensue, proceeded
175 with his speech. Sometimes, however, his memory [455] seemed to fail,
565 upon which he was prompted by another man who sat near him. From
this ceremony, and the place where it was performed, we conjectured
175 that he was a priest. However, as far as we could see into their
771 religious nmtions, it did not appear that they practised any kind
171 of idolatry; neither did they seem to have any particular veneration
for birds like the Taheitians, but to worship a supreme invisible
[764] Being. What may have induced them, as well as the people of Taheitee
and the Society Isles, to unite their repositories of the dead and
000 their places of worship in one, remains in obscurity. The religious
tenets of a people are the last things which strangers become acquainted with, whose knowledge of the language is commonly too
imperfect. Besides this, the dialect of the church frequently differs
from the common dialect, and thus religion is veiled in mysteries,
especially where there are priests to take advantage of the credulity
of mankind.

175 From this place we returned to the sea shore, where a brisk
439 trade for vegetables, fowls, and hogs was carried on. Here we bought
[293] a large flat shield or breast-plate, of a roundish bone, white and
[237] polished like ivory, about eighteen inches in diameter, which appeared
000 to have belonged to an animal of the cetaceous tribe. We likewise

[1829]

The missionaries regarded these seven men as "the first fruits of the Gospel" in 797
Tonga.(25) A short catechism had been compiled a few weeks before this event, 795
and the catechumens repeated the answers before the congregation at their baptism.
On 29 March 1829 Aleamotu'a's wife, Moala, was baptized and named Mary. Four other women were baptized with her.

When children of parents already baptized were brought, Turner set apart those below eight years and treated those above eight as adults who entered a class for instruction. It was Turner's practice to baptize candidates by sprinkling as they knelt around the communion table. He gave them biblical names as well as agreeing to their retaining their Tongan names. Incidentally, John Williams, while commenting very favourably on Turner's work during his visit to Nuku'alofa in 1830, criticized the giving of biblical names. However, it became standard practice in the Tongan Wesleyan Church. It was also the custom for baptized persons to sit under and around the pulpit, apart from the rest of the congregation.

Eleven more were baptized on 9 April 1829 when the congregation numbered [794]
nearly 500, Turner reported. By April 1829 Turner had completed the first 797
Scripture lessons, catechism, and some hymns, and had sent these to Sydney to
be printed. He had also translated the marriage service from the Prayer Book, [585]
and on 3 May the first Christian wedding service was held. On 24 May there [764]
was the first Christian burial, for an old convert named Job, so named because
of his patience in prolonged illness. On Whitsunday, 7 June 1829, the first [788]
Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in which Tongans participated was observed.
There were twenty-six Tongan communicants.

The District Meeting, on 23 June 1829, reported 31 full members, with [794]
90 on trial. It asked the Committee for two additional missionaries, one with
medical knowledge, the other with printing experience; and a printing press was requested.(26)

By 25 June, William Cross had produced summaries of Old Testament and
New Testament narratives, and had translated the Acts of the Apostles to chapter
eleven — a remarkable feat in about eighteen months. Cross and Turner reported [871]
to the Committee that there were 495 in the schools and that [212]

> "many of the people can read with fluency and write in such a way as would astonish you."

They added two significant comments:

> "The great and good work which the Lord is doing among us here is almost incredible to ourselves who are eye and ear witnesses to the facts. . . . And we enjoy perfect harmony among ourselves."

The "Lovefeast" was a treasured Wesleyan ordinance in which worshippers gave testimonies, and the first of these was held on 11 October 1829. About forty, including Aleamotu'a and his consort, spoke on this occasion.

At the District Meeting on 31 December 1829, is was decided that a man
and woman living together should be married before they were baptized, and
that candidates for baptism should meet "in class" for at least three months and,
after baptism, spend three months "on trial" before full membership. The wise
direction of the Chairman could be seen in these rules. It was also reported that [794]
there were 72 full members, with 23 others baptized but not yet full members, [795]
123 others on trial, and that there were 478 scholars in four schools, at [871]
Nuku'alofa, Hofoa, Havelu, and Fanga.(27)